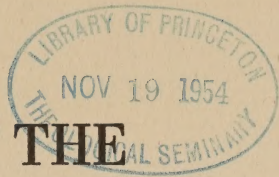


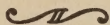
BR 145 .N5 1941

Nichols, Robert Hastings,
1873-1955.

The growth of the Christian
church



The GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH



ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS

Professor of Church History, Auburn Theological Seminary
and Union Theological Seminary

REVISED EDITION

PHILADELPHIA
THE WESTMINSTER PRESS

Copyright, 1941, by
The Westminster Press

All rights reserved—no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

Printed in the United States of America

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE writing of this book was undertaken at the request of the Committee on Religious Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. That Committee desired a presentation of Church History suitable for the use of classes of young people of high-school age. The book is intended for such classes, and makes no pretensions to do anything more than try to meet their needs.

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS.

Auburn Theological Seminary,
May 13, 1914.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE use of this book in colleges and theological seminaries and by adult classes in churches, as well as by students of high-school age, for whom it was originally designed, has called for a second edition. For this it has been revised in considerable degree, in the light of experience in teaching and of advances in historical knowledge. The Ancient Church, A. D. 100-590, instead of being treated as a whole, has been broken into two periods of time. At various points the narrative has been rewritten. Furthermore the revolutionary events

since 1914 have necessitated changes of statements in the account of modern history; and a new chapter dealing with the present century has been added. The chapter on "American Presbyterianism," which was the last in the first edition, has been removed, because the book has largely been used by others than Presbyterians.

While the revision has been in process the world has been changing. It has proved impossible to hold strictly to a particular time for the end of the narrative. In general 1939 has been taken as *terminus ad quem*, but some later events have demanded notice.

A note in the confused field of capitalization may seem necessary. This relates only to the word "Church." In the first edition this word was capitalized when it referred to the primitive Church and the ancient Church, usually called undivided. Elsewhere the word was spelled with a small "c," except in cases of the official titles of churches, e.g., "Church of Scotland." This usage has been retained in the second edition, in order to avoid extensive changes in type, though consistent practice is impossible in some places.

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS.

New York City,
December, 1941.

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS AND CLASS LEADERS

This new edition, to judge by the experience of the first, will be used both in educational institutions and by voluntary classes in churches and elsewhere. The following suggestions are intended for teachers of voluntary classes.

The chapters have been framed with the thought that each should be the material for one meeting of a class. Teachers will have to decide whether this plan can be carried out. It will hardly be possible to take more than one chapter in a meeting.

Unless the teacher is already somewhat familiar with church history, it is strongly advised that he read carefully all that the class is to cover in the course before he prepares for the first meeting. It is even more strongly advised that the teacher read as much as he can in church history and biography. It is not possible to teach effectively on the basis of only such knowledge as can be obtained from the textbook used. Lists of reading are appended to the chapters.

It will not be of much interest or value to attend a meeting of a class studying church history if one has not done the reading assigned for it. Yet the difficulty of getting reading done by voluntary classes is proverbial. All possible means should be employed by the teacher to get the reading done

beforehand. The "Questions for Study" appended to the chapters may be of use here.

No one thing does more to make history intelligible than the use of maps. The teacher ought often to consult a historical atlas. A set of historical maps will be a great advantage in the class. Failing this, the historical atlas should be shown to the class at certain points. If a historical atlas cannot be had, it is much better for teacher and class to use a general atlas than no maps at all.

Much of the subject matter will take the class, and perhaps the teacher also, into strange regions of thought and action. The teacher will need to cultivate in himself, and to urge the class to cultivate, the power of imagination, so that just as far as possible he and they can make themselves at home in strange surroundings, and see things as they looked to men of different worlds and different thoughts and beliefs. This is one of the places at which wide reading will help the teacher. For his work with the class, he ought to be on the lookout for things in contemporary and familiar life which will help the student to realize conditions in the past.

Church history ought to be studied in freedom from prejudice. The mind should be held ready to receive new ideas, and to judge all things on their merits, not on the basis of what one has been accustomed to think. It ought to be studied, above all, with faith in God, who is guiding his Church to see more truth, and to do the work of his everlasting kingdom.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY

	PAGE
I. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PEOPLES.....	1
A. The Romans	1
B. The Greeks	4
C. The Jews	6
II. THE WORLD AT THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY.....	9
A. Religious Conditions	9
B. Intellectual Conditions	12
C. Moral Conditions	12
Questions for Study	13
Reading	14

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CENTURY

I. JESUS AND HIS CHURCH.....	15
A. Jesus and His Disciples.....	15
B. Jesus Founding the Church.....	16
II. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.....	17
A. The Beginning	17
B. Church Extension	18
C. The Life of the Church.....	20
D. The Worship of the Church.....	22
E. The Belief of the Church.....	23

	PAGE
F. The Government of the Church.....	25
Questions for Study.....	26
Reading	27

CHAPTER III

THE ANCIENT CHURCH: I

(A. D. 100-313)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED.....	28
II. THE CHURCH	30
A. Church Extension	30
B. Life in the Church.....	36
C. The Worship and Sacraments of the Church..	38
D. The Belief of the Church.....	39
E. The Organization of the Church.....	39
1. Local Church Organization.....	39
2. The Catholic Church.....	40
3. Other Developments in Church Organization..	41
Questions for Study.....	43
Reading	43

CHAPTER IV

THE ANCIENT CHURCH: II

(A. D. 313-590)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED.....	45
II. THE CHURCH	47
A. Church Extension	47
1. In Roman Lands.....	47
2. Without Roman Lands.....	50
B. Life in the Church.....	52

	PAGE
C. The Belief of the Church.....	54
D. The Worship of the Church.....	59
E. The Organization of the Church.....	61
1. The Completion of the Catholic Church.....	61
2. The Rise of the Roman Bishop.....	63
3. Churches Separated from the Catholic Church.	64
Questions for Study	65
Reading	66

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: I (A. D. 590-1073)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED.....	67
II. THE CHURCH	71
A. Church Extension	71
B. The Organization of the Church.....	76
1. The Rise of the Papacy.....	77
2. The Separation of East and West.....	82
Questions for Study	84
Reading	84

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: II (A. D. 590-1073)

II. THE CHURCH (Continued).....	86
C. Christianity at War with Paganism Within the Church	86
1. Life in the Church.....	88

	PAGE
2. Worship and Popular Religion.....	91
D. Dawn After the Dark Ages.....	94
E. Life and Thought in the Eastern Part of the Church	98
Questions for Study	101
Reading	101

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: I

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH.....	103
A. The Medieval Papacy.....	103
1. Hildebrand	103
a. The Church to Be Freed from the World..	103
b. The Church to Be Supreme Over the World.	110
2. Innocent III	112
B. The Church Ruling the Western World.....	114
1. The Extent of the Church.....	114
2. The Church's War Against Islam—The Cru- sades	115
Questions for Study.....	121
Reading	122

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: II

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH (Continued).....	123
B. The Church Ruling the Western World (Con- tinued)	123

	PAGE
3. The Wealth of the Church.....	123
4. The Organization of the Church.....	124
5. The Discipline and Law of the Church.....	129
6. The Worship of the Church.....	134
7. The Church's Place in Religion.....	138
Questions for Study.....	139
Reading	140

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: III

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH (Continued).....	141
B. The Church Ruling the Western World (Con- tinued)	141
8. Christian Life Under the Church's Rule.....	141
9. The Service of the Medieval Church to the World	152
II. THE EASTERN CHURCH.....	154
Questions for Study.....	157
Reading	157

CHAPTER X

DECAY AND NEW LIFE IN THE WESTERN CHURCH

(A. D. 1294-1517)

I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS	159
II. WHERE THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH FAILED.....	160
A. The Corruption of the Clergy.....	160

	PAGE
B. The Degradation of Religion.....	162
C. The Neglect of the People.....	162
III. MOVEMENTS OF PROTEST.....	163
IV. DOWNFALL OF THE PAPACY.....	166
A. Boniface VIII	166
B. The Babylonish Captivity.....	167
C. The Great Schism.....	168
V. REVOLTS FROM THE CHURCH; THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION	169
A. John Wyclif	169
B. John Hus	171
VI. EFFORTS AT REFORM WITHIN THE CHURCH.....	172
A. The Demand for Reform.....	172
B. The Reforming Councils.....	173
VII. THE RENAISSANCE AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION	175
VIII. SOCIAL UNREST AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION	177
Questions for Study.....	178
Reading	179

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: I (A. D. 1517-1648)

I. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION.....	180
A. The Political Situation.....	180
B. How Luther Became a Reformer.....	182
C. The Early Years of the Lutheran Reformation.	191
D. The Emperor and the Reformation.....	194

	PAGE
E. What Luther Accomplished in Germany.....	195
F. The Religious Peace of Augsburg.....	197
G. Luther's Work Outside of Germany.....	197
Questions for Study.....	198
Reading	199

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: II (A. D. 1517-1648)

II. THE REFORMED SIDE OF PROTESTANTISM.....	200
A. The Reformation in Switzerland Under Zwingli.	201
B. The Genevan Reformation Under Calvin.....	205
C. The Reformation in France.....	211
D. The Reformation in the Netherlands.....	213
E. The Reformation in Scotland.....	216
F. The Reformed Church in Germany.....	218
G. The Reformed Church in Hungary.....	219
H. Characteristics of the Reformed Churches....	219
Questions for Study.....	220
Reading	221

CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: III (A. D. 1517-1648)

III. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.....	222
A. Henry VIII	222
B. Edward VI	224
C. Mary	224

	PAGE
D. Elizabeth	225
E. The Puritans	226
IV. THE ANABAPTISTS	229
V. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.....	232
A. Forces Making for Reform in the Roman Cath- olic Church	232
B. Possible Ways of Reform.....	233
C. The Way Chosen—the Counter-Reformation....	234
D. The Resources of the Counter-Reformation....	234
1. The Jesuits	234
2. The Work of the Council of Trent.....	237
3. Means of Repression—the Inquisition and the Index	238
4. A Revival of Religion in the Church.....	239
E. The Conquests of the Counter-Reformation....	239
VI. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.....	240
VII. MISSIONS	242
Questions for Study	244
Reading	245

CHAPTER XIV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WEST- PHALIA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: I (A. D. 1648-1800)

I. FRANCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.....	247
A. Gallicanism and Ultramontanism.....	247
B. The Dissolution of the Jesuits.....	248
C. The Persecution of the Huguenots.....	249
D. The Roman Catholic Church and the French Revolution	251

	PAGE
II. PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY.....	253
A. Religious Decline After the Reformation.....	253
B. Pietism	255
C. The Moravians	258
III. THE AGE OF REASON.....	259
IV. THE EASTERN CHURCH, FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO EIGHTEENTH	261
Questions for Study.....	264
Reading	265

CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WEST- PHALIA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: II

(A. D. 1648-1800)

V. PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND.....	266
A. Puritan Rule	266
B. The Restoration	269
C. The Revolution	271
D. Religious Weakness in the Early Eighteenth Century	273
E. The Eighteenth Century Revival.....	274
F. The Results of the Revival.....	278
VI. PROTESTANTISM IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.....	281
A. The Covenanters'	281
B. The Eighteenth Century in Scotland.....	282
C. Irish Presbyterianism	283
Questions for Study.....	284
Reading	285

CHAPTER XVI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE

	PAGE
I. ROMAN CATHOLICISM	287
A. The Papacy and <i>Napoléon</i>	287
B. The Church from 1814 to the Vatican Council..	287
C. The Vatican Council.....	289
D. The Loss of the Temporal Power.....	290
E. The Church After 1870.....	291
II. PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT.....	293
A. Germany	293
B. France	294
C. Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Hungary..	295
III. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.....	296
A. England	296
1. The Evangelical Movement	296
2. The Liberal Movement	298
3. The Tractarian Movement	299
4. The Free Churches	304
B. Scotland	305
1. Religious Awakening	305
2. The Disruption	305
3. The Churches of Scotland After the Disrup- tion	307
IV. MISSIONS IN EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY.....	308
Questions for Study	310
Reading	311

CHAPTER XVII

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN EUROPE

I. POLITICAL HISTORY TO 1935.....	312
II. RELIGIOUS HISTORY	314

	PAGE
A. Roman Catholicism	314
1. Modernism	314
2. Relations of the Papacy with European States	315
3. The Temporal Power Restored.....	317
4. General History	318
B. Protestantism on the Continent.....	321
1. Germany	321
2. France	322
3. Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia.....	323
4. Central Europe	324
5. The Eastern Countries.....	325
C. Protestantism in Great Britain.....	326
1. England	326
a. The Church of England.....	326
b. The Free Churches	328
2. Scotland	329
D. Eastern Orthodox Church.....	329
1. Russia	329
2. Other Eastern Countries.....	330
E. Christian Missions	331
F. Christian Unity; The Ecumenical Movement....	333
Questions for Study	335
Reading	336

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

I. THE EARLIEST ENTERPRISES	338
A. Protestant	338
B. Roman Catholic	338
1. Spanish Missions	338
2. French Missions	339

	PAGE
II. THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.....	340
A. From the Foundations to the Great Awakening (A. D. 1607-1728).....	340
1. New England	340
2. The Middle Colonies	344
3. The South	347
B. From the Great Awakening to the War of Independence (A. D. 1728-1775).....	349
III. THE UNITED STATES.....	353
A. Reconstruction and Revival After the War of Independence	353
B. The Nineteenth Century, to 1830.....	355
C. 1830-1861	359
D. 1861-1890	363
E. 1890-1929	365
F. 1929-1940	369
Questions for Study	370
Reading	371
INDEX	373

CHAPTER I

THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY

One of the things that make the study of church history inspiring is that by it we are made to realize that God is actually at work for the salvation of mankind in the world where we live. Nowhere do we see this working of God more clearly than in the strange and wonderful way in which the world was made ready for the coming of Jesus. He came at "the fulness of the time," when all things had been so molded by the hand of God as to cause his coming to have the greatest possible effect. We can best understand this preparation of the world for Christianity by looking first at the parts played in it, under God, by three great peoples, and then at the condition of the society in which Christianity first appeared and made its first conquests.

I. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PEOPLES

A. THE ROMANS

When Christianity came, and during all its early life, the Romans were rulers of the world. This we may truly call them, in spite of the fact that there was much outside of their possessions, for it was in what they ruled that the civilization of the world was then making its great advances.

THE ROMAN
WORLD POWER

The inhabitants of this Roman domain regarded it as the world, and ignored what lay beyond. Moreover, the Roman world included all the lands with which Christianity had to do during the first three centuries of the Christian era. By A. D. 50 the Roman Empire included Europe south of the Rhine and the Danube, most of England, Egypt and the whole northern coast of Africa, and most of Asia from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia. All this the Romans did not merely hold by force. They governed it intelligently and effectively. Wherever Roman rule spread it brought a higher civilization than had before existed. The empire's power was greatest and its administration most efficient in the lands about the Mediterranean, where Christianity was first planted.

MADE MEN ONE

By this world rule the Romans were most useful instruments of God to prepare the way for Christianity. Their empire, including so much of mankind, was an object lesson giving men some idea of the oneness of humanity. For ages separate governments had made groups of men feel themselves separate and different from all other men. But now all men were one in the sense that all separate governments had been broken down and one power ruled everywhere. Christianity is a universal religion, knowing no distinctions of race, appealing to men simply as men, making all one in Christ. For such a religion there was a most valuable preparation in the fact that when it came men were already one under Rome.

Furthermore, the Roman rule brought world-wide peace, *pax Romana*. Wars between nations were for the most part impossible under the sway of the mighty empire. This peace among the peoples was very favorable to the spread from one land to another of the religion which claimed universal dominion.

Finally the Roman administration, strong and watchful and wise, made travel and communication between different parts of the world safe and easy. The sea was cleared of the pirates who by their terrors had hindered navigation. On land the splendid Roman roads ran to all parts of the empire, doing for distant regions what railways do in our times; and these roads were so policed that the highway robber's life was unprofitable. Thus travel, for business and other purposes, was encouraged and greatly increased. It is probable that during the early years of Christianity people moved about from city to city and from country to country more largely than they did at any later time until after the Middle Ages. Those who know how much modern facilities of travel have furthered missionary work will at once see what this state of affairs meant to Christianity when it was being first planted. Such a missionary career as that of Paul would have been impossible without the freedom of travel due to the Roman rule. Christianity was greatly helped in its early years by this opening of doors throughout the civilized world, making it easy for the Christian missionaries to move about, and encouraging that free in-

CAUSED
WORLD-WIDE
PEACE

OPENED THE
WORLD FOR
TRAVEL AND
INTERCOURSE

tercourse among countries by which new ideas are circulated.

B. THE GREEKS

THE WIDE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEKS

When Christianity came, the people living in the regions about the Mediterranean had been much affected by the spirit of the Greek people. Colonies of Greeks, some of them hundreds of years old, were widely scattered along the coasts of this sea. With their trade the Greeks went everywhere. Thus their influence was extensive, and it was strongest in those cities and countries which were the most important centers of the life of mankind. So strong was it that we often call this ancient world "Greco-Roman," for as it was ruled politically by Rome, the thinking of its people was largely molded by the Greeks.

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS STIMULATED THOUGHT AMONG THEIR PEOPLE

During several centuries preceding the Christian era the Greek people had the most vigorous intellectual life in the world. Thought about the great questions over which men have always pondered, about the origin and the meaning of the world, about God and man, and right and wrong, flourished among them as nowhere else. The Hebrews had indeed received a revelation of God and his will not possessed by the Greeks, but they were not given to discussing these vital questions as were the Greeks. From the sixth to the third century before Christ a great movement of thought on matters of philosophy and theology took place among the Greeks, in the course of which some of the world's most influential thinkers taught,

and much that is permanently valuable was given to the world. The result of this was a wonderful development of the mind of the Greek people. To a large extent they learned how to think about the questions which their philosophers debated. Their wits were sharpened and their curiosity was roused. Socrates, going about in the public places of Athens and asking men questions which made them stop and consider things which had never before occurred to them, is a type of this influence. So it came about that the typical Greek was a keen, inquisitive, disputatious man, eager to talk of the deepest things in heaven and earth.

We can see now what would be the effect of the contact of the Greeks with other peoples. Their influence worked far and wide to rouse inquiry concerning the great questions of life, and to teach men how to think about them. This temper of intellectual curiosity and this readiness of thought were prevalent in the chief centers of the Greco-Roman world, the places where Christianity was preached by its early missionaries. Thus the peoples of these places were more hospitable to a new religion and better prepared to receive it than they would have been if they had not come under the Greek influence.

The Greeks made another important contribution to the preparation for Christianity by supplying the language in which it was first to speak to mankind. A sign of the extent and strength of the Greek influence is seen in the fact that the language most used in the countries around the

HENCE THE
GREEK
INFLUENCE
SET OTHER
PEOPLES TO
THINKING

THE GREEKS
PROVIDED A
UNIVERSAL
LANGUAGE

Mediterranean was a Greek dialect, that known as the Koiné, the "common" dialect. This was the universal language of the Greco-Roman world, used for all purposes of popular intercourse. One who spoke it could make himself understood everywhere, especially in those great centers where Christianity was first planted. The earliest Christian missionaries, for example Paul, did most of their preaching in this language. In it the earliest Christian books, those that make up our New Testament, were written. Thus the universal religion found ready for it a universal language in which it could at once speak to all men; and this inestimable help had been provided, under God, by the Greek people.

C. THE JEWS

THE MISSION
OF THE
JEWISH
PEOPLE

The Hebrew, or Jewish, people had been divinely appointed to be the stewards for the world of true religion. It was their mission to receive from God special revelation concerning himself and his will, to master this divine teaching as it was progressively given to them, and to preserve it in purity, so that in "the fulness of the time" they might be a blessing to all peoples. We cannot fully see the grandeur of their national life unless we view their history as a part of God's preparation of the world for the coming of the religion by which he purposed to save the world.

IN JEWISH
RELIGIOUS LIFE
THE FIRST
CHRISTIANS
WERE TRAINED

The Jews, it has been truly said, supplied "the cradle of Christianity," the surroundings for its birth and early growth. They provided the re-

ligious life in which were trained our Lord Jesus himself, and all the earliest Christians, including all the first apostles and missionaries. Nowhere else in the world at the coming of Christianity was there a religious life so pure and strong as that which existed among the best representatives of Jewish religion. Its central features were two: the highest conception of God known to men, that which is taught in the Old Testament; and the highest known ideal of moral life, an ideal springing from this lofty conception of God. Speaking as men must, we cannot see how such a life and such teachings as those of Jesus could have come out of the religious life of any existing people other than the Jews. Nor can we see how men fit to receive at its beginning the religion which he brought and to spread it abroad could have been found among any other people. Men trained in that older religion which was so closely akin to Christianity were needed to understand and preach the new religion. The better one knows the life of the Greeks and the Romans, the more one feels the impossibility of gathering among them men who would have been to Christianity what the first disciples and Paul were.

Secondly, the Jews prepared the way for Christianity by being a race expecting what Christianity offered, a divine Saviour. The hope of a Messiah was cherished by all Jews as their dearest possession. To be sure it was held by many of them in gross and worldly forms. But in all its forms there was the essential thing, the ardent expecta-

THE JEWS
WERE
EXPECTING
A SAVIOUR

tion of one sent of God to redeem his people. Among other peoples there was nowhere an outlook on the future comparable to the Jewish Messianic hope. Indeed in the Greco-Roman world there was a good deal of despair and weariness. Christianity found all of its first adherents among the Jews, and one thing that qualified them to receive it was the Jewish hope of a divine Saviour.

THE JEWS GAVE
TO
CHRISTIANITY
THE OLD
TESTAMENT

Thirdly, the Jews provided for Christianity an inestimable help in their sacred books, our Old Testament, treasured by them as the record of God's revelation of himself in their national life. By this means the new religion was supplied at the outset with a religious literature far surpassing anything of the kind in existence, which confirmed Christian teachings and foreshadowed Christ. Before Christianity had had time to produce Christian books, it found ready to its hand writings which were of the greatest help to it. Jesus had constantly used the Old Testament to sustain his own life and to support his teachings. In keeping with his example the Jewish Scriptures were regularly read in the meetings of the early Christians for worship. All Christians, Jewish and of other peoples, drew from them incalculable inspiration and instruction. It should be noted, too, that the Old Testament was known to the numerous Gentiles who had been attracted to Jewish religion as the purest they could find, and that thus it proved a way by which many of these men came to Jesus.

Something must be said about the important part played in the preparation for Christianity by the Jews of the Dispersion. This means the many Jews who, because of the scattering resulting from the captivities, were to be found in almost every town of the Greco-Roman world. Everywhere they kept their religion and maintained their synagogues. In many places they carried on active missionary work. By this they won from among the Gentiles numerous proselytes, and made the teachings of their religion known to many others who did not fully accept it. This Jewish mission was a most useful forerunner of the Christian mission, for it spread extensively among the Gentiles certain elements of religion which are essential to Christianity as well as to Judaism. One of these was the belief that God is one. Another was a lofty moral law, which Judaism, like Christianity, taught was an integral part of religion. In this both of them differed from pagan religions, which had nothing to say about how men ought to live. A third was the expectation of a Saviour. Many Gentiles had been inspired with this hope by contact with Jews, and thus were prepared to accept Jesus as him who was to come.

**THE
INFLUENCE
OF THE JEWS
OF THE
DISPERSION**

II. THE WORLD AT THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

A. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The old religion of the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, known to us through the stories of classical mythology, had lost almost all of its life by the time of the birth of Christianity. While

**THE
OLD CLASSICAL
RELIGION
DECAYING**

the forms of its worship were somewhat kept up, educated men generally did not pretend to believe in it, nor had it much influence over the common people. The emperor Augustus, who was reigning when Jesus was born, was greatly troubled by the decay of the old religion, and made great efforts to revive it, but mostly in vain.

THE ROMAN
STATE RELIGION

Nevertheless the age was far from irreligious. Augustus also introduced the Roman state religion. As it was later developed, this expressed itself in veneration of the statues of the reigning and past emperors, as symbols of Rome. The state was deified, as in modern totalitarian regimes. Primitive cults, the worship of divinities associated with communities, localities, occupations, occasions in life, had considerable vitality.

ORIENTAL
RELIGIONS

The old Greek mysteries attracted many people. These were secret dramatic ceremonies which seem to have set forth ideas concerning the perpetuation of life. Orphism, an ancient Greek movement of mystical religion, which taught doctrines of salvation and life after death, was represented by many brotherhoods. But stronger were Oriental religions, which swept over the Mediterranean world, winning many converts. From Phrygia came the worship of the Mother of the Gods and Attis, and from Egypt the worship of Isis with Serapis or Osiris. These were influential about the beginning of the Christian era. Later the most popular of the Oriental religions, that of the god Mithras, came from eastern Asia Minor and was carried far and wide in the Roman army. These

“mystery religions” had superficial likenesses to Christianity in forming societies independent of race or rank, which held common meals, in practising washings which were considered to work spiritual cleansing, and in most cases in celebrating divinities who had undergone death and risen again and who communicated immortal life to believers. In deeper ways they and Christianity were far apart.

The age in which Christianity won its first conquests was a religious age, in that there was much interest in learning about various forms of religion and much seeking for more satisfying religions. The world was full of spiritual curiosity and yearning. In relation to Christianity it is significant that three things were prominent: a growing belief in one universal god, a widespread sense of sin and longing for purification, and a great interest in what comes after death.

The best religion existing before Christianity came, we have said, was the Jewish. But Judaism could not meet the world's need. While Jesus was living it showed that it was not able to be a universal religion. This appears in the character of its leaders, who were the priests, the Sadducees, and the teachers, the Pharisees. We underestimate the Pharisees because of their opposition to Jesus. But despite their moral earnestness, among the Pharisees of Palestine there was growing a narrow racial spirit, confining Jewish religion to the Jewish people, and opposed to the missionary work among the Gentiles which had been going on.

RELIGIOUS
CURIOSITY
AND DESIRE

JUDAISM
COULD NOT BE
A WORLD
RELIGION

B. INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS

The great Greek philosophical movement came to an end, so far as concerned progress in the quest for truth, long before the Christian era. When Christianity appeared, Greek thought was making no advance. Two Greek philosophies, Epicureanism and Stoicism, had considerable vogue in the Roman Empire during the early years of Christianity. But neither of them satisfied men's minds as to the urgent questions of sin and of the future life which were burdening them. Both of them had great faults as teachings to live by. Epicureanism was too superficial and selfish. Stoicism, though its noble moral teachings were influential, was too lacking in human sympathy. Among thoughtful men there was a strong sense of the unsatisfactoriness of human thinking, and much desire for more certainty on the crucial questions of life. At the death of his daughter, the younger Pliny writes to a friend: "Give me some fresh comfort, great and strong, such as I have never yet heard or read. Everything that I have read or heard comes back now to my memory, but my sorrow is too deep to be reached by it."

C. MORAL CONDITIONS

It has been customary to paint the moral state of the civilized world during the early days of Christianity in the blackest colors, as though no goodness worth mentioning existed. Such an idea of the age is not justified by the facts known to us. It has been produced chiefly by too large use

of the writings of the satirists of the time, who lashed the vices of "society," and of the scandals recounted by the biographers of the aristocracy. The upper classes were no doubt horribly corrupt. Among the middle and lower ranks, however, many men and women were leading virtuous and kindly lives.

But when we have collected all the favorable evidence, as well as the unfavorable, the resulting picture is dark enough. The age was decadent. Men's minds were uncertain, restless, dissatisfied. The existing religions and philosophies had little control over life. The result was a prevailing low moral tone. No force making for better things existed, until Christianity gained power. The tendency of society was steadily downward.

In keeping with all this, a temper of weariness and emptiness ruled many men, and especially some of the best and most thoughtful. It was a world of much gloom and hopelessness, as well as corruption, into which the first Christian missionaries brought their good news of salvation.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What was the extent of the Roman Empire when Christianity appeared? What was the character of its government?
2. In what three ways did the Roman rule prepare the world for Christianity?
3. What was the extent of Greek influence when Christianity appeared? What effect did it have upon men?
4. What did the Greeks do for Christianity by their language?
5. What was the divine mission of the Jewish people?

6. In what three ways did the Jews prepare the way for Christianity?
7. What services did the Jews of the Dispersion give in the preparation for Christianity?
8. What was the state of the old religion of Greece and Rome when Christianity came?
9. What was the Roman state religion?
10. What new religions were influential in the Greco-Roman world in the early days of Christianity?
11. What was the general religious character of the age?
12. Why could not Judaism be the universal religion?
13. What was the intellectual condition of the Greco-Roman world when Christianity appeared?
14. What was its moral condition?

READING

Angus: "The Environment of Early Christianity."

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period I, sections i, ii.

Lietzmann: "The Beginnings of the Christian Church," chs. I, II, VI, IX.

Glover: "The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire," chs. I-III.

Purdy-Macgregor: "Jew and Greek: Tutors Unto Christ."

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CENTURY

I. JESUS AND HIS CHURCH

A. JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES

Jesus had "compassion on the multitude," and strove to reach with his ministry as many men and women as was possible. But he evidently felt that he could do more for the world by constantly keeping with himself a few chosen men, and filling them with his spirit, so that they might continue his work, than by spending all his time in general public teaching. At the very beginning of his ministry he began to call men to be his personal companions. Later, from those who believed in him he chose twelve to be his close associates. We are told also of seventy disciples whom he appointed and instructed for a special ministry of preaching. Jesus' relations with his disciples, especially with the Twelve, form one of the most important and characteristic parts of his work. He gave to them teaching which he did not give generally. He trained them so that after he was gone they could give to men knowledge of him, and of the revelation of God and the salvation which he brought, and of the way of life to which he called everyone. Toward the end of his ministry he confined himself more and more to this kind of work for his disciples. After his resurrec-

tion his appearances were to them only. His last word to them was a command to carry their preaching of his gospel among "all the nations," and a promise to be with them in fullness of power through all time while they were doing this world-wide work.

B. JESUS FOUNDING THE CHURCH

Plainly Jesus designed that there should be a society of his followers to give to mankind his gospel and minister to mankind in his spirit, to labor as he did for the increase of the kingdom of God. He fashioned no organization or plan of government for this society. He appointed no officers to have authority in it over other members. He prescribed for it no creed. He imposed on it no code of rules. He commanded no forms or orders for worship, and gave to his followers only the simplest religious rites. These were baptism, the use of water to signify spiritual cleansing and consecration to his discipleship, and the Lord's Supper, the use of portions of the two most common articles of food as a commemoration of himself, especially of his death for the redemption of men. Therefore what Jesus did would not be truly described by saying that he organized the Church. He did a greater thing than give organization; he gave life. He founded the Church, or created it.

Jesus formed the society of his followers by calling them together about himself. He communicated to it so far as he could while he was on earth his own life, his spirit and purpose. He promised

to continue to the end of the world to impart his life to this society, his Church. His great gift to his Church, we may say, was himself. In him the Church was to find its principles, its aims, its power. He left it free to make for itself forms of organization and of worship, and statements of belief, and methods of work. His purpose evidently was that the life of his Church, that is, his life abiding in his followers, should express itself in any outward ways that might seem to them best for the great end in view.

II. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH (TO A. D. 100)

A. THE BEGINNING

In one sense, the Christian Church came into being when Jesus first made disciples. But it is commonly said that the history of the Church begins on the day of Pentecost following the resurrection; for then began the active life of the Church. After our Lord's withdrawal of his bodily presence from his disciples, though they had laid upon them his command to preach his gospel to the world, they remained quiet. They were waiting, according to his word, for power from on high. Ten days later, at Pentecost, the Holy Spirit promised by Jesus came upon them. It came as a great endowment of energy for service. At once they became outspoken witnesses for their Lord, full of gallant activity. The change showed itself in Peter's speech at Pentecost. What we see in him that day expresses the spirit of all

THE EFFECT OF
PENTECOST ON
THE DISCIPLES

these first Christians from that day forward. That day, then, there came into being the Christian Church, as a company of disciples of Jesus bearing witness of him, proclaiming his gospel, building the kingdom of God on earth.

B. CHURCH EXTENSION

The first preaching of the gospel, at Pentecost, was addressed to Jews only. For some time, perhaps two or three years, Christian missions were confined to the Jews, beginning in Jerusalem and thence extending into Palestine. The earliest Christians did not at once see the full breadth of Jesus' purpose of saving the world. Being themselves Jews, and knowing that he was the Messiah expected of their people, they at first considered him the Saviour solely or chiefly of Jews, in spite of much in his life and words which should have taught them better.

Persecution was the way by which the infant Church came to a truer understanding of the gospel which Jesus had given it to preach, and a broader vision of the work which Jesus purposed for it. The Jewish religious authorities, who had from the first hindered Christian preaching, were aroused by the bold defiance of Stephen's speech to make a systematic, savage campaign against Christianity. By this attack the Christian community in Jerusalem, numbering now some thousands, was broken up. Its members sought safety here and there in Palestine. Though fleeing for their lives because of their faith, they carried

THE FIRST
MISSION WAS
TO JEWS ONLY

THROUGH
PERSECUTION
THE CHURCH
WAS LED TO
WIDEN ITS
MISSION

the gospel wherever they went. Some of them went to the great city of Antioch in Syria. Here the followers of Jesus were first called "Christians."¹ And here, living in the midst of a Greek population, these exiles made Jesus known to Greeks as well as to Jews.

Thus certain obscure and unknown believers took the principal step in causing Christianity to be a universal religion. A little later this church at Antioch sent out Barnabas and Paul, the first men to go under express appointment to preach Christ to the Gentiles. Paul it was who, under God, finished the work of tearing Christianity loose from Jewish fetters. He made it actually what it always had been in God's purpose, a religion for all men. Henceforth it was preached to all men on equal terms.

Thus launched on its great missionary career, Christianity spread so that by A. D. 100 there were churches in many cities of Asia Minor, in a number of places in Palestine, Syria, Macedonia and Greece, in Rome and Puteoli in Italy, in Alexandria and probably in Spain. The greatest worker in bringing this about was, of course, Paul. The names of some other missionaries, for example Prisca and Aquila, are recorded in the New Testament. The traditions about the preaching of the original apostles lead us to think that all of them were fearless witnesses, carrying the gospel far,

CHRISTIANITY
PREACHED AS
A UNIVERSAL
RELIGION

GROWTH OF
CHRISTIANITY
IN THE FIRST
CENTURY

MISSIONARIES
WHO CAUSED
THIS GROWTH

¹ This name seems to have been applied to the disciples by other people, not chosen by themselves. It may have been a derisive nickname.

though we know certainly about their work **only** in the cases of Peter and John. But much of the heroic service that spread Christianity so widely was given by nameless disciples. Many a Christian was a missionary, eager to give the joy which he had in Christ to the people he met in his daily work and in other associations. By their zeal in speaking of him, and yet more by lives faithful to him and showing his power to save, these unknown Christians were most effective missionaries of their religion.

C. THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH

A Christian church in these times was usually a small company of believers living in a large heathen town. Almost all of them were poor people, some of them slaves, although there were some Christians of higher social rank, especially in the Roman church. Everywhere certain things distinguished the Christians from their pagan neighbors. They called each other brethren in Christ, and really acted as brethren. The poor, the sick, the widows and orphans, were lovingly cared for. The collection and administration of charitable funds formed one of the most important parts of the life of these early churches. Within the Church social distinctions were abolished. Master and slave stood on one level. Women held a much more honorable and influential position than they did in the world outside. The Christians were marked also by a moral earnestness and a purity unknown elsewhere. Paul's Epistles to the Co-

CHARACTERIS-
TICS OF THE
CHRISTIANS;
(1) BROTHERLY
LOVE

(2) MORAL
EARNESTNESS
AND PURITY

rinthians tell us of a people far from perfect, as would be expected of those lately converted from heathenism and living in the midst of its temptations. Nevertheless, the lives of Christians generally showed the power of the gospel to give men and women a new righteousness. Again, the ruling temper of the Christians was gladness and confidence. They rejoiced in the love of God their Father, in the fellowship of the living Lord Jesus, in the forgiveness of sins, in the certainty of immortality; and so they stood out against the sadness that oppressed many around them. These characteristics of the primitive Christians were powerful to commend Christianity to others and thus further its spread.

(3) CONFIDENT
GLADNESS

All these characteristics drew some of their strength from the fact that these believers lived in constant expectation of the speedy return of their Lord in visible glorious presence, and his triumphant reign on the earth. The dominance of this hope in the apostolic Church should never be forgotten in thinking of this period. True, these earliest Christians were mistaken in some of their ideas on this subject, but their hope did much to purify and strengthen their lives.

HOPE OF THE
LORD'S
COMING

The Christians needed special help, for they were constantly exposed to suffering for their faith. Sometimes they were harassed by Jewish enemies of Christianity. Sometimes unorganized popular anger vented itself on them. The Christians were hated by many because their lives were standing condemnations of prevalent religious

PERSECUTION

customs and moral conduct. From the time of the emperor Nero (A. D. 54-68) the Roman Government was hostile to Christianity, and tried to suppress it, with vigor and cruelty which varied with different rulers. The reasons for this official persecution we shall consider in our next chapter; but it should be noted here that during most of the latter half of the first century Christianity had the power that ruled the world for an enemy. Many Christians, famous leaders like Paul and also unknown heroes, won the martyr's crown.

D. THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH

Persecution and poverty made church buildings impossible in the first century, so that the Christians met for worship in private houses. From Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Corinthians, we learn that there were two sorts of meetings for worship. One was of the nature of a prayer meeting. It was carried on by the people, who took part as the Spirit moved them. Prayers were offered, and testimony and instruction given. There was singing of the Psalms, and also of Christian hymns, which began to be written in the first century. The Old Testament Scriptures were read and expounded, and there was reading or recitation from memory of accounts of the deeds and words of Jesus. When apostles sent to churches letters, such as we have in the Epistles of the New Testament, these also were read. In this meeting the enthusiasm of primitive Christianity found free utterance. Sometimes there was such eager-

ness to take part that disorder resulted. To this meeting non-Christians were admitted. Sometimes one of them would be moved to confess his sins and give his allegiance to Jesus.

The other meeting was the love feast. This was a joyful and sacred common meal, the symbol of Christian brotherly love. Only Christians were allowed to be present. Everyone brought provisions for the meal, and these were to be shared by all alike. Paul rebukes the selfishness of those who ate what they themselves brought, refusing to share with those who could not bring things as good. During the meal prayers of thanksgiving were offered by the presiding brother. At its close the Lord's Supper was celebrated, some of the food of the meal being used for the sacrament. This meeting was held on the Lord's Day, the first day of the week, which the Christians kept as the weekly festival of their Lord's resurrection. Although there is a good deal of uncertainty about the matter, it is probable that at first the love feast was held in the evening, the ordinary evening meal taking this form among Christians. Later in the first century, it seems, the Lord's Supper was separated from the love feast and observed at a morning meeting. We know that in the second century the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist, was celebrated on the morning of the Lord's Day.

THE LOVE
FEAST AND
THE LORD'S
SUPPER

E. THE BELIEF OF THE CHURCH

No creeds or other formal statements of its belief were composed by the Church in the first cen-

BELIEF OF THE
FIRST
CHRISTIANS

ture. The Apostles' Creed was not used before the second century. For knowledge of the belief of the early Christians we must go to the New Testament. They believed in God the Father, in Jesus as Son of God and Saviour, in the Holy Spirit of whose presence they were conscious. They believed in the forgiveness of sins. They accepted Jesus' teaching of love to all men as their moral ideal. They looked for his speedy return, for final judgment exercised by him, and for eternal life as the destiny of those who believed in him. Their doctrinal ideas, if such they may be called, were very simple. All their thoughts about religious truth were dominated by Jesus, in whom their religion was wholly wrapped up.

INFLUENCES
CAUSING
ERRORS;
(1) THE
JUDAIZERS

(2) GNOSTICISM

Two influences caused some of the first century Christians to have mistaken religious ideas, and somewhat threatened the purity of the gospel. The "Judaizers" taught that Christians ought to perform all the ceremonies required by the Jewish law. Against them Paul contended sharply; for he saw that if their teachings prevailed, Christianity could not be the religion of people of all races. In the New Testament there are also warnings against the errors of what is called Gnosticism. This took its rise in the first century, and later became very powerful.¹ It was a strange mixture of Christian, Jewish and heathen ideas, enough like Christianity to confuse the minds of some Christians.

¹ See p. 39.

F. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH**INDEPENDENCE
OF THE
CHURCHES**

These earliest churches were independent and self-governing, each managing its own affairs. The Christians realized vividly that they all belonged to one universal Church, for all were one in Christ. But no general organization had control over the widely scattered churches. The original apostles were revered because of their relation to Jesus, and they exercised a certain authority, as is shown by their decision concerning Gentile Christians and the Jewish law, reported in Acts, ch. 15. Paul had authority because of his place as an apostle and his extraordinary service. But the authority of these men was not such as comes from office in a formal organization.

**MINISTRY OF
PREACHING
AND
TEACHING**

The New Testament speaks of office-bearers who gave the ministry of preaching and teaching. They are called apostles and prophets and teachers. The name "apostle" was not restricted to the original companions of Jesus, but was given to others who were pioneers of the gospel, carrying the good news into new fields. The prophets and teachers brought light on the meaning of the gospel to the churches. All these held office not because of appointment by any authority, but because they gave evidence of being qualified by the gifts of the Spirit. Their ministry was to the whole Church; they were not attached to particular congregations. We hear of apostles and prophets traveling about at their work. In the first century the preaching and teaching of the gospel was done mostly by

these men, and women also, rather than by local office-bearers.

MINISTRY
OF CHURCH
AFFAIRS

The New Testament speaks of another kind of ministry, concerned with the affairs of the congregations. About this we have not a great deal of knowledge. What we know leads us to think that no one pattern of organization was followed by all the churches, but that they acted freely and differed. In some of Paul's churches there were two groups of officers. There were elders or presbyters,¹ also called bishops, meaning those who have oversight, and there were deacons. The elders or presbyters or bishops of a church had oversight in pastoral care, discipline and money affairs. The deacons gave subordinate service of the same kind. The elder-bishops presided at the Lord's Supper, and they would be drawn into preaching when no apostle or prophet or teacher was present. These officers were chosen by the people because they showed the gifts of the Spirit for their work. This form of organization had no one officer like a modern pastor. In other churches there seem to have been other forms of organization, in some cases leadership being in one man, in others government being congregational.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe Jesus' relations with his disciples.
2. What was Jesus' purpose regarding the Church?
3. In what sense did Jesus found the Church? What did he not give to it, and what did he give?

¹ Presbyter comes from the Greek word for elder.

4. When did the active life of the Church begin?
5. To whom was the gospel first preached?
6. How did the Church come to widen its preaching?
7. What did Paul have to do with Christianity's becoming the universal religion?
8. How far did Christianity spread in the first century?
9. Who were its missionaries?
10. What sort of people composed the earliest churches? What were the distinguishing marks of their life?
11. Whence did persecution come on the Christians of this period?
12. What two kinds of meetings for worship did they have?
13. What was their belief?
14. What influences caused mistaken religious ideas among them?
15. Was there any general church government in the first century?
16. What was the ministry of preaching and teaching?
17. What was the ministry of church affairs?

READING

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period I, sections iii-vii, ix.

Lietzmann: "The Beginnings of the Christian Church," chs. IV, V, VII, VIII.

T. M. Lindsay: "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries," Lectures II-IV.

Streeter: "The Primitive Church," Lectures II, III.

Von Dobschütz: "Christian Life in the Primitive Church," chs. II-IX.

Glover: "The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire," chs. IV, V.

CHAPTER III

THE ANCIENT CHURCH: I

(A. D. 100-313)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED

EXTENT OF ROMAN EMPIRE

During the period covered by this chapter the Roman Empire reached its greatest extent. At its height, under Trajan (98-117), it included territory north of the Rhine and the Danube and stretched eastward to the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. But the normal boundary might be said to be the Rhine and the Danube, and in the east the Euphrates.

CAUSES OF DECLINE; (1) INTERNAL

In these two centuries the empire was showing weakness. It had too great a territory and too varied a population to be ruled permanently by one central authority. Some of the emperors were weak, or bad, or both. Government in the provinces was so corrupt and oppressive that many of them were brought to financial ruin and misery. Slavery worked out, in Italy and elsewhere, its inevitable disastrous effects, weakening character in all ranks of society and wasting resources. Unwise economic policies enriched a few and impoverished the middle and lower classes, causing decline of population. The strength of the Romans and of some provincial peoples was eaten out by moral decay, infecting not the aristocracy only but all classes, showing in dishonesty in business and government, in sensuality

and disregard of marriage and in degrading popular amusements.

While the empire was thus breaking down inwardly, it began to receive blows from without, at the hands of the "barbarians." These were chiefly the German tribes, whose homes, when we first hear about them, were about the lower courses of the great rivers falling into the Baltic and North Seas. Thence, impelled by growing population and scanty resources, and attracted by the rich civilization of the empire, they made, tribe by tribe, their migrations south, southeast, southwest. In this they were not making mere raids, but seeking new homes. Their movements, which lasted altogether not less than five centuries, changed the face of Europe, bringing to many regions new populations. Only the beginnings of this process fall within the two centuries before us. Even before the Christian era there were collisions between the Romans and the Germans. In the first century A. D. the Romans, recognizing the German power, accepted the Rhine-Danube frontier, except for Dacia (modern Rumania). Late in the second century the Germans pressed on the bounds of the empire hard enough to strain Roman power to the utmost. From this time the emperors had to stand them off by receiving some tribes as allies, giving them lands and taking some of their fighting men into the Roman army, which thus became increasingly German.

While the empire was still strong the statesman-like Diocletian (284-305), seeing that it was too extended to be governed from one center, arranged

(2) EXTERNAL;
ATTACKS
OF GERMANS

DIVISION OF
GOVERNMENT

a division of authority among four rulers, with Rome and Nicomedia in Asia Minor as capitals. This "uneasy quartet" lasted a few years, until the strong hands of Constantine grasped all the power. He was ruling in the West at the end of this period, and in 323 he became sole emperor.

II. THE CHURCH

A. CHURCH EXTENSION

EXPANSION OF
CHRISTIANITY
IN SECOND
AND THIRD
CENTURIES

Between A. D. 100 and Constantine's reign Christianity made wonderful advance. At 313 it was the prevailing religion in Asia Minor, then very important in the world, in Thrace and distant Armenia. It was very strong, influencing civilization, in Antioch and Syria about it, the coasts of Greece and Macedonia and the Greek Islands, northern Egypt, the province of Africa, Italy from Rome southward, southern Gaul, Spain. It was represented less strongly elsewhere in the empire, including Britain. It was very weak, naturally, in the remoter parts, including middle and northern Gaul. In all these regions it had reached people of various languages, not sharing in Greco-Roman civilization. "Christianity was already showing itself more inclusive than any one cultural tradition."

Not only had Christianity reached the limits of the empire; it was strong in certain lands beyond them, in eastern Syria and Mesopotamia.

ITS SPREAD
IN SOCIETY

Christianity had spread into all classes of society. No longer were its people found chiefly among the poorest and most unlearned. The churches contained not a few men and women of high rank and wealth.

Christians were numerous in the imperial court and the government. Though in the Church there was a strong opinion that Christianity was incompatible with the soldier's profession, Christians were in the army in the second century and by the time of Diocletian they were numerous. Many men of high culture had become disciples and used their powers in forwarding the Christian cause. Christianity had its strongest hold, however, among "the artisans, the retailers, and the owners of small property who were not above healthy labor."

Who brought about this extraordinary spread of Christianity? At the beginning of this period, as in the first century, there were traveling missionaries, pioneers of Christianity; but by A. D. 200 few of them remained.

The apologists, or literary defenders of Christianity, gave missionary service. One of these was Justin Martyr (about 100-165). He was a Greek, born in Palestine, and showed his Greek blood by spending his youth in going from one school of philosophy to another, in search of truth. Somewhere he met a venerable man, a Christian, who led him to see that the truth which he had found came to its climax in Christ. The rest of his life, until his martyrdom, Justin spent in traveling about as philosophical teachers did, teaching Christianity as the perfect philosophy. He also wrote many books intended to explain Christian truth to the inquiring heathen. Another apologist was Tertullian (about 160-230), a Carthaginian lawyer, converted to Christianity in middle life. He had remarkable gifts of

MEANS OF
GROWTH;
(1) MISSION-
ARIES

(2) APOLOGISTS

JUSTIN

TERTULLIAN

keen thought and forcible language, terse, lively, and satirical. These, with his fiery zeal for Christ and his stern moral sense, gave him strong influence. In many writings he refuted false charges against the Christians and Christianity, and powerfully set forth the truth. But not many converts were won by books.

(3) TEACHERS

ORIGEN

The men who did the work of teachers¹ in the churches were useful in spreading knowledge of Christianity. An example of these was Origen of Alexandria (185-253). He was born of Christian parents, and received the best education then to be had. In learning and power of thought he had no superior in his day. He and Tertullian were the two greatest men in the Church of the second and third centuries. When only eighteen years old Origen became head of the catechetical school of the church of Alexandria. There he was a teacher of remarkable power, doing much to make Christianity known to non-Christians as well as to Christians. He wrote an amazing number of books expounding Christian truth, including a number of commentaries on books of the Bible, which are still valued by Biblical students. In the persecution under the emperor Decius he suffered cruelties which hastened his death.

(4) THE
CHRISTIANS
GENERALLY

But most of the work that so greatly forwarded the cause of the cross was done by the Christian people generally. By their lives, especially by their brotherly love to each other and also to non-Christians, and their fidelity and courage under

¹ See p. 25.

persecution, and by constantly telling the gospel story, these nameless servants of Christ won most of those who were won to him in these times.

We do not rightly appreciate the conquests made by the Church in these centuries unless we remember that they were made under persecution. From the time of Nero (54-68) the Roman Government was hostile to Christianity. Why was this? The government allowed many kinds of religion to be practised freely. But Christianity was unlike other religions. Christians gave supreme allegiance to their Lord Christ. But for the Romans the state was supreme. For them religion was a matter of patriotism. The gods recognized by the state were worshipped for the sake of the state's welfare. Adherents of other religions were willing to pay homage to the national gods, while at the same time practising their own worships.¹ But Christianity was exclusive. Christians held that all gods except the God they worshipped were nothing. They would not worship the Roman gods at the behest of the state; they would not put Cæsar above Christ.

PERSECUTION

ITS CAUSE

We can see why to Roman officials Christianity seemed a teaching of disloyalty and a danger to government and society, and why the Christians were charged with anarchism, sacrilege, atheism, treason. The government was hostile to Christianity because it was considered a threat to the supreme state. There was a convenient way to test the loyalty of Christians. They would be brought into court and required to take part in ceremonies of the state re-

¹ The law released Jews from the worship of Roman gods.

ligion, the worship of Rome and the imperial statues. This Christians refused to do, and thereby, in the view of officers of government, they convicted themselves of disloyalty. It came to be enough that a man or woman said, "I am a Christian." That meant disobedience to the state.

SPECIAL
REASONS OF
PERSECUTION

Two facts sharpened the government's opposition to Christianity. One was its growth, in the face of repression. Another was that the chief meetings of the Christians—for the Lord's Supper—were held behind closed doors. The Church appeared to the government to be a growing disloyal secret society.

POPULAR
HOSTILITY

For a long time the government represented the people in attacking Christianity. Until the third century, when Christians became better known, Christianity was hated by the people. The Christians' refusal of the state religion, the symbol of patriotism, caused them to be regarded as are those who will not honor the American flag. Christians denounced all the old gods, whose worship was thought necessary for the welfare of society, and was involved with life in many ways. They were regarded therefore as the worst kind of revolutionaries, destroying the foundations of civilization, although they were, as they protested, law-abiding subjects. Christians considered themselves a distinct people, peculiarly chosen by God, and acted accordingly, by not conforming to popular customs when their religion forbade. This caused ill-will. Stories about immoral actions in Christian private meetings aggravated popular hostility. This often caused

mob attacks on Christians, from which government officials sometimes protected them.

There was not a continuous persecution during the time from Nero to Constantine. The treatment of Christians varied much according to the attitudes of emperors and local officials. There were many times of peace, in particular regions or generally. But all the time Christianity was under the ban of the law, and at any time Christians might be arrested and accused before a magistrate. Refusal of the worship of the state religion meant torture and, for the obstinate, death. No Christian in these centuries lived out a natural life without knowing persecution.

THE GOVERN-
MENT'S
ACTION

Until the early third century the attacks on Christianity were largely local. Then, after a generation of peace, came by far the worst persecution yet experienced, under Decius and his two successors (250-260). They used all their power in a systematic and ruthless attempt to stamp out Christianity from the empire. Thousands were martyred and thousands fell away from the faith. The Church was seriously weakened, and was in mortal danger when persecution was stopped by the emperor Gallienus. There followed "the long peace," 260 to 303, during which the Church gained much in numbers and strength of organization. Thus it was able to withstand the last persecution, under Diocletian. This was carefully organized and savage, but in most places short-lived, and it did not greatly injure the Church.

In 311 an edict of toleration for Christianity, con-

END OF
PERSECUTION

taining something like an admission that the persecution was a failure, was issued by Galerius, ruling in the East. Two years later the Edict of Milan, by Constantine and Licinius, emperors in West and East, established religious liberty for all. This was done to end the persecution of Christianity.

B. LIFE IN THE CHURCH

EFFECT OF
PERSECUTION
ON THE
CHARACTER
OF THE
CHRISTIANS

While the persecution lasted, it largely shaped the Church's moral character. Only earnest and faithful people would profess Christianity when to do so brought on one the hostility of the government. In this way the life of the Christians was kept on a high moral level. In the times of peace, however, many entered the Church, and among these some of light character, whose presence lowered the average of Christian conduct. Then when persecution began again, its terrors caused these weaker ones to desert the cause of Christ. Thus the Church was purged of its unreliable members, and made more worthy of its Lord and stronger for his work.

CHARACTER
OF THE
CHRISTIANS
IN THE
SECOND AND
THIRD
CENTURIES

In the second and third centuries the general character of the Christians continued to be, as it was in the first, high enough to distinguish them from the world about them. Though there were serious blemishes, on the whole the Christians were acknowledged to be of superior morality. Brotherliness, purity, honesty, were characteristic of them. Their brotherliness especially impressed a world in which this was new. Cases of need were frequent among them. Many poor people were in their num-

ber. Persecution made widows and orphans and brought to men confiscation of goods. To meet such distress Christian love flowed forth freely. Nor was it confined to those who held the faith. In times of general suffering, for example in pestilence, the Christians cared for the needy without distinction when no one else would do this.

In these centuries there appeared two tendencies which were later to influence strongly the life of Christians. One was asceticism. This is discipline of character effected by self-denial in things which in themselves are not wrong. Examples of this in this time were fasting and renunciation of human fellowship by solitary living. It began to be thought that special righteousness could be attained in such ways.

ASCETICISM

The other tendency was legalism. This is interpreting the moral meaning of a religion as obedience to definite rules or laws. Examples in this time were prayer and fasting on certain days of the week and regular almsgiving. The freedom of the Christian life which Paul had taught was somewhat replaced by a system of rules.

LEGALISM

In times of rest from persecution, we have said, people of inferior character entered the Church. Thus its moral average was somewhat lowered. Hence earnest Christians became dissatisfied with the kind of living which the Church was accepting. A distinction was drawn between two grades of Christian conduct. The "requirements" of the gospel were for the mass of Christians; the "advice"

DOUBLE
STANDARD OF
CHRISTIAN
LIVING

of the gospel was for those who would go higher and aspire to perfection. Thus a double standard of Christian living developed. The "requirements" of the gospel were the keeping of the Church's rules. The "advice" was voluntary self-denial, ascetic living. The most esteemed elements of this higher morality were poverty and celibacy.

C. THE WORSHIP AND SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH

WORSHIP

By the middle of the second century the custom was established of having on the Lord's Day a meeting for Scripture reading, prayer, the singing of psalms and hymns and preaching, concluding with the Lord's Supper. Since this was a workday like the others, the meeting had to be in the early morning. The first part of the service was public, but only believers might be present at the sacrament. Forms of prayer came into use in the second century and in the third liturgies or full orders of worship were employed.

SACRAMENTS

Baptism was given in an elaborate ritual by the end of the second century. It was believed to wash away all previous sins. The Lord's Supper or Eucharist was administered in liturgical form. Thought about its meaning produced in the third century a doctrine which had two aspects. The Lord's Supper was considered a sacrament in which Christ was really present, so that the believer had communion with him. It was considered also a sacrifice which influenced God to be favorable to the communicants and those for whom they prayed.

D. THE BELIEF OF THE CHURCH

In this period the Church began the thinking about the chief matters of its faith which issued in the creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries. The first impulse to this came from Gnosticism. In the second century this movement was widespread in the East, especially in Asia Minor. Gnosticism was near enough to Christianity to be dangerous. But it was far from Christianity in that it denied that God was the creator of the world and of men, and that Christ had a real physical life. In order to instruct catechumens, or candidates for baptism, and to defend Christianity against Gnostic errors, short statements of what Christians believed were framed. Creeds much like the Apostles' Creed appeared in several places in the second century. Evidently something substantially the same as this was widely accepted as the Church's rule of faith.

GNOSTICISM

EARLY CREEDS

Christ was the main subject of the thought of Christians, since he was the new thing in Christianity. In the ideas about him which were shaped we can see the Church trying to do two things—to hold to the belief in one God and to give Christ the place which Christians felt was his due.

E. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

1. *Local Church Organization*

In the first century, we saw, there was no one uniform pattern of local church organization; but some churches were governed by groups of presbyters and deacons. By the middle of the second century there was a uniform pattern. Practically

ONE
PATTERN OF
LOCAL GOVERN-
MENT:
BISHOP OVER
CHURCH

every church had a bishop at its head, and groups of presbyters and deacons. The word "bishop" here should not mislead us. These bishops did not have districts under their control. They were pastors, each the leader of his church. It is easy to see how this form of government developed out of government by the two groups. One man can direct affairs and give leadership better than several.

2. The Catholic Church

RISE OF
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

In the first century, we saw, the churches were independent; there was no government having authority over more than one church. In the second century also there was no such government. But by the third quarter of this century there had arisen what was called the Catholic Church, "catholic" meaning universal. This was a federation or association of churches which were bound together by agreement in three formal ways. In the first century the churches had a spiritual unity, through love resting on faith. In the second century there was also an external unity. The churches of the Catholic Church were united by all having one kind of government, i.e., by bishop, presbyters, deacons; by all holding one creed, substantially the Apostles' Creed; and by all receiving one collection of books of the New Testament. There were churches which did not have the form of government just described, or did not altogether agree with the creed, or did not receive some of the approved books. They were regarded by the Catholic Church as heretical.

The formation of the Catholic Church was necessary in the face of a great danger. Gnosticism was confusing people's minds about Christian truth. Another movement was causing dissension—Montanism. The Montanists desired a church like that of the first century, under the direct control of the Spirit. They held that authoritative officers were likely to hinder the moving of the Spirit, and objected to the growing power of the ministry. Their belief in the immediate guidance of the Spirit led to some strange and fanatical utterances. To keep the Christian religion from being lost in the confusion some means of unity was needed. The means taken was the formation of the Catholic Church, an institution which claimed authority to define the Christian religion and exercised it by excluding those who did not agree with it. This development had harmful results later, but it was necessary in its time.

NEED FOR
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

3. Other Developments in Church Organization

In these centuries changes took place in the position of the ministry. The distinction between clergy and laymen, unknown in the first century, was gradually marked. Bishops, presbyters and deacons were separated in rank from the members of the churches. The growth of the idea of the higher morality caused the belief that the clergy ought to be unmarried. This became law in the Church in the West in the fourth century. In the larger churches there came to be clerical officers of lower grades, such as sub-deacons and readers. In 251

DEVELOPMENT
OF CLERGY

the church of Rome, largest of the churches, had over a hundred and fifty clergy of various ranks.

MINISTERIAL
PRIESTHOOD

The idea that the Christian minister is a priest, i.e., that he stands between man and God, became widely held in the third century. This went along with the belief that the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice offered to God for the people. Naturally the idea of priesthood gathered specially about the bishop. The office of the bishop was magnified. He was thought to have authority from God enabling him to teach Christian truth aright. Sometimes he was regarded as empowered to give God's forgiveness.

DIOCESAN
BISHOP

We have seen that in some churches a centralization of authority took place by which one office-bearer came to be the head. Another step in centralization followed. In the second century the bishop was the pastor of a congregation in a city. As the number of Christians increased, other groups would be formed in the city and the surrounding territory. All of these would be under the bishop of the mother church. Each of them would be cared for by a presbyter, and the bishop would have oversight of the whole district or diocese.

UNITY
OF CHURCH

In the third century there was as yet no organized general government of the Church. There had been synods or meetings of bishops to deal with particular needs. Two ideas of the unity of the Church were expressed in this century. One was that unity was in the agreement of the bishops. The other was that unity consisted in the acceptance of the authority of one bishop, the bishop of Rome. As the church of the imperial capital and the largest

and richest of the churches, Rome naturally grew in influence. From the late second century the bishops of Rome claimed wide authority. A hundred years later they had acknowledged leadership in the West, but not in the East.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What were the internal causes of the decline of the Roman Empire?
2. What were the relations of the Germans to the empire in this time?
3. Describe the geographical expansion of Christianity, 100-313.
4. Describe its spread in society.
5. By what means did Christianity make this growth?
6. What was the main cause of the Roman persecution of Christians?
7. Describe the general policy of the government toward Christians.
8. Describe the persecutions of the third and fourth centuries.
9. How did the persecution end?
10. What was the character of Christians generally in this time?
11. Explain asceticism and legalism.
12. Describe Sunday worship in this period.
13. When did the Apostles' Creed come into use, and why?
14. What pattern of local church government prevailed in the second century?
15. What was the Catholic Church of the second century?
16. What is the idea of ministerial priesthood?
17. Describe the rise of the diocesan bishop.

READING

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period I, sections viii-xi; Period II, sections i, iii-v, xii-xiv, xvi, xvii, xix.

Lietzmann: "The Founding of the Church Universal," chs. I, IV, VI, XI.

Latourette: "The First Five Centuries" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I), chs. III, IV.

T. M. Lindsay: "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries," Lectures V-VII.

Workman: "Persecution in the Early Church," chs. II-IV.

Gwatkin: "Early Church History," ch. XV, on Gnosticism.

Case: "Makers of Christianity from Jesus to Charlemagne," biographies.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANCIENT CHURCH: II

(A. D. 313-590)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED

In the Roman Empire the fourth and fifth centuries saw continued decline, and finally its passing away in the West. Constantine ruled the empire from 323 with power and wisdom. He moved the capital to his splendid new city, Constantinople (Istanbul). After him division of authority again prevailed until Theodosius, already ruling in the East, obtained sole power and held it from 392 to 395. He was the last to reign over the whole Roman world. After him there were two lines of emperors, those of East and West, with capitals at Constantinople and in Italy.

During all this time the weaknesses which we saw were breaking down the empire within. And from without the attacks of the barbarians grew heavier. In 378 there was fought at Adrianople one of the world's decisive battles, in which the Visigoths, a German tribe then living about the lower Danube, defeated the Romans under Valens and killed this emperor. The frontier being broken beyond repair, Visigoths and other barbarians poured in over the Balkan peninsula. After this events moved rapidly to the sack of Rome by the Visigoths under Alaric in 410. Conquests by other German tribes followed,

GOVERNMENT
OF THE
EMPIRE

EMPERORS
IN EAST
AND WEST

GERMAN
INVASIONS
AND
CONQUESTS

each taking away a part of the empire. The Visigoths established a kingdom in Spain and southern France, the Burgundians seized southeastern France, the Franks ruled northern France and western Germany, the Angles and Saxons took possession of England. In the West only Italy remained under imperial authority. This authority was but a shadow, because for years the real rulers had been German leaders of the army, who set up and overthrew emperors. Finally, in 476, the German general Odovakar dethroned Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman emperor of the West, and ruled in his own name.

END OF
EMPIRE IN
WEST

Long before this the Roman lands in the West had fallen into the anarchy which lasted through the sixth century and longer, beyond our present period. The German tribes which had seized parts of the empire fought among themselves. No strong government arose to rule as Rome had, and western Europe was in chaos and misery.

EMPIRE IN
EAST

In the East the emperors maintained their power at Constantinople, though there were inner weaknesses and outer attacks. Many of them reigned effectively over their domains in eastern Europe, western Asia and northeastern Africa. One of them, Justinian (527-565), was among the very greatest of Roman rulers. He gained so much of the old territory of the empire in the West that Rome once more controlled the Mediterranean, and under him civilization substantially advanced. But after him, though the empire stood, it was not so prosperous.

Though for many years there were two emperors,

the empire was not considered to be divided. Its government was divided. But men regarded the Roman Empire as one, and both rulers as Roman emperors. After the end in the West the monarchs of Constantinople claimed to be sole rulers of the Roman Empire.

II. THE CHURCH

A. CHURCH EXTENSION

1. In Roman Lands

Before Constantine Christianity was in conflict with the world; after him it was on the throne of the world. His motives for his action toward Christianity are not clear. Doubtless he saw that it could not be destroyed but was going to be stronger. This would convince him that the God of the Christians was a strong God and cause him to desire the prayers of the Christians to their God for the welfare of his government. Doubtless he saw also that Christianity, if it was encouraged and became still stronger, would be a force for unity among the peoples of the empire. Doubtless also he had some real personal sympathy with Christianity. But he never showed in his conduct any influence of Christian morality.

At all events Constantine revolutionized the position of Christianity. First, as has been said, he and Licinius in 313 established general religious liberty, which gave Christianity equality with other religions before the law. Then he showed marked favor to Christianity, making grants from his treasury for the building of churches and the support of the

CONSTANTINE
AND
CHRISTIANITY

HIS FAVOR TO
CHRISTIANITY

clergy, exempting the clergy from taxation and replacing the eagles on his standards with the labarum, the sign of Christ. Finally he entered actively into the affairs of the Church, endeavoring to settle doctrinal disputes. All this time he was not professedly a Christian, for he would not receive baptism till just before death. He did not make Christianity the established religion of the empire. The old state religion was maintained and Constantine remained its *pontifex maximus* or high priest. But his interest and support gave Christianity dominant prestige.

ACTIVITY OF
THE CHURCH

The Church's new position in the world brought rapid growth, some of which was good and some not. Freed from persecution and disciplined and purified by its trials, it pushed forward its work powerfully in both old and new fields. Within the empire much of the older population was not Christian and numerous barbarian pagans had settled. Many Christian bishops preached to the unconverted in their dioceses and encouraged missions elsewhere.

MARTIN OF
TOURS

In central France in the fourth century Martin, bishop of Tours, a man of natural eloquence and abundant charity, by his own tireless labors and those of disciples trained in monasteries which he established greatly strengthened Christianity. At

ULFILAS

the same time Ulfilas had a heroic career as the apostle to the Goths about the lower Danube. He translated a large part of the Bible into their tongue, having devised an alphabet for it. Largely because of his work the Visigoths, when they captured Rome in 410, were Christian.

The philanthropic service of the Church, its hospitals, hospices for strangers, houses for orphans, care of widows and the poor, attracted many people, though it was not given to secure conversions. In the disintegrating society of the fourth and fifth centuries the Church was the only helper of the poor.

CHARITIES

Partly because of these efforts of the Church, Christianity spread rapidly in these centuries in parts of the empire where it had not been strong, especially in Greece, upper Egypt, central and northern Italy, Spain, France, the lands along the Rhine and Danube. In Britain, where Christianity existed before 300, the fourth century saw a vigorous church.

EXPANSION

Besides the Church's efforts, the power of the empire increased the numbers of the Christians. This was a doubtful benefit. As soon as Constantine patronized Christianity it became the fashionable religion. His successors followed and bettered his example. They supported Christianity and exerted authority in church affairs. Thus Christianity, though not yet such in name, was practically the established religion of the empire. This meant a constant influx to the churches of people who took up with Christianity only because it was approved by the government. Imperial favor toward Christianity suffered a short check under Julian (361-363), who made an earnest but vain attempt to restore paganism. The story is told that as he was dying he realized that his opposition to Christianity had come to nothing and said, "Thou hast conquered, Galilean." A few years later (380) Theodosius, em-

**GROWTH OF
CHURCH
BECAUSE OF
IMPERIAL
FAVOR**

peror in the East, a Christian, decreed that all subjects of the empire must accept the Christian faith as stated in the creed of the Council of Nicea.¹ He continued this policy when he became ruler of the Roman world in 392. Thus Christianity became part of the law of the empire. All its inhabitants had to profess themselves Christians, on pain of outlawry. This of course gave the deathblow to paganism in the empire. Many temples and idols were destroyed and by 400 pagan worship was gone. It looks like a tremendous victory that the religion which less than a century before had been persecuted should now be the only lawful religion in the empire. Really it was not such a victory, for the new state of things meant that in the churches there were many who were not Christians at heart.

CHRISTIANITY
COMPULSORY

NOMINAL
CHRISTIANS

2. Without Roman Lands

Beyond the Roman frontier Christianity reached out widely. In Mesopotamia, Persia and Arabia it was strongly established in the fifth century. In Mesopotamia there were many of the Nestorian Christians who will be later described. Probably India was reached by 500. Into Ethiopia the gospel entered before 350. In the next century it reached Ireland, the westernmost limit of the known world. There the important pioneer was Patrick, though there may have been Christians before him. Born in Britain of Christian parents, in boyhood he was captured by pirates from Ireland and held awhile in slavery there. He escaped to France, lived for a

CHRISTIANITY
IN THE EAST

IRELAND;
PATRICK

¹ See p. 55.

time in a monastery and then returned to Britain. But he was haunted by the need of the Irish for Christ: "I fancied I heard the voice of the folk who were near the wood of Fochlad, nigh to the western sea." Later, after some years of study in France, he went to Ireland in 433. There for thirty years he was a missionary of singular devotion and Christ-likeness and laid enduring Christian foundations.

Meanwhile Ninian was a Christian missionary in southwestern Scotland. But the important beginnings there were made by Columba, who soon after 550 led a company of monks from Ireland to a little island off the west coast of Scotland, Iona. From the monastery there established Columba and his followers went out to their missions. Their work spread widely in Scotland and England, and later struck deep into the continent, in France, southern Germany and Switzerland. No part of early Christian history shines brighter than the story of the Iro-Scottish monks. Their teaching had an apostolic simplicity rarely found elsewhere and their lives extraordinary purity and consecration.

SCOTLAND;
COLUMBA

Beside true missionary work we find in the fifth century a striking case of the superficial Christianization of a people. Clovis, king of the Franks, had a Christian wife who had long tried to convert him. Hard pressed in battle, he vowed to become a Christian if Christ would help him to win. He won, declared himself a Christian and compelled his people to accept Christianity. On Christmas Day, 496, he and three thousand of his warriors, says the chronicler Gregory of Tours, were baptized. So the strong-

CHRISTIAN-
IZATION OF
FRANKS

est of the German tribes became nominally Christian. But the history of Clovis and the Franks for years after shows that this Christianity was hardly skin-deep.

B. LIFE IN THE CHURCH

GOVERN-
MENTAL FAVOR
CAUSED
SOME MORAL
DECLINE

The Church's new position in the friendship of the world was not altogether good for its life. So many crowded into the churches that it was impossible to keep up the careful examination and training of candidates for membership which had been the rule. Many found places in them who were really pagans and whose lives were a reproach. Thus there came a decline of the general level of character. To meet this situation, the Church developed its discipline, that is, its method of dealing with offenses against morality. People were schooled in Christian living after they were in the churches instead of before. Punishments were imposed to repress immorality and train church members. For minor offenses these were penances, such as public confessions, fastings and prayers, and for graver offenses excommunication.

DISCIPLINE

MONASTICISM

In this time many Christians became eager for a higher goodness than they saw around them. Thus arose a form of life which was destined to be one of the strongest forces in the history of Christianity, monasticism. What made men become monks was desire for salvation. In two ways the life of monks seemed a surer way of salvation than that of other men.

MOTIVE:
DESIRE FOR
SALVATION;

It was a life separated from the world, and therefore, it was thought, free from the hindrances to

Christian living met with in the world. In the early Christian centuries Christians were living in a heathen society, full of temptations. After society became nominally Christian it long remained practically heathen. Besides, Europe was for centuries in constant warfare. Even in the Church there was much evil. Those who earnestly desired to lead Christian lives came to think that they could do this far better by withdrawing from the general life of men.

(1) BY
SEPARATION
FROM THE
WORLD

Secondly, the monastic life gave opportunity for the pursuit of holiness by entire self-denial. In the thought about self-denial then prevailing the idea was influential that evil resides in matter. Matter includes the human body. Therefore, it was believed, holiness is attained by freeing the spirit as far as possible from the body; and this freedom can be gained by denying satisfaction to bodily desires. Another highly esteemed form of self-denial was complete poverty. So it came to be thought that the most truly religious life was that of men and women who gave up all their possessions, had poor lodgings, dressed uncomfortably, ate scanty food, slept little, scourged themselves for penance and were unmarried.

(2) BY
SELF-DENIAL

From the second century there were in the East, especially in Egypt, thousands of hermit monks, living in desert places in extreme self-denial, and regarded by Christians as peculiarly holy men. In the fourth century the monastic ideal spread to the West. There it soon was popular and many men and women became monks and nuns. In the West, how-

EASTERN AND
WESTERN
MONASTICISM

ever, monastic life took a different form from that usual in the East. The typical monk of the East was a solitary, of the West a member of a community. Men and women went apart from general society and entered societies ruled by Christianity, favorable to Christian living. In the Western part of the Church monasticism was social, a life of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, in which all goods were held in common and almost all things were done in common.

BENEDICTINE
RULE

In the sixth century the famous Benedictine monastic rule was composed by Benedict of Nursia in Italy. Soon it became practically the universal law of Western monasticism. Benedict saw that the life of monks needed direction and purifying, and sought to effect this by his rule. This made the monk's vow to be for life, so that he was dead to the world. It required him to surrender all his property. It prescribed the virtues which he must have, abstinence, obedience to superiors, silence, humility. It laid down his duties in detail, dividing his time between worship, manual labor in house and field and study. The reform wrought by the rule gave to monastic life fresh popularity, causing the foundation of many new monasteries, which filled as fast as they were built. Thus monasticism was ready to perform its great service of the early Middle Ages.

C. THE BELIEF OF THE CHURCH

The fourth and fifth centuries were the chief period in the history of the Church in regard to its expression of its belief. Then were framed the creeds still accepted among Christians all over the

world. In the preceding period, we saw, Christ was the main subject of the Church's thought. Discussion of the nature of Christ became increasingly active, especially in the East, where the Greek influence produced keen interest in questions of doctrine. Early in the fourth century Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, taught that Christ was neither God nor man, but a created being intermediate between divinity and humanity. His view spread rapidly in the East. The dispute over it divided the Church and even caused disturbances of public order.

THOUGHT
ABOUT
CHRIST

ARIANISM

To bring about peace Constantine called the first general council of the Church at Nicea in Asia Minor in 325. Here Athanasius, a deacon of Alexandria, was the leading opponent of Arius and his party, and the conception of Christ for which he stood prevailed. The council affirmed the divinity of Christ, declaring that he was "of the same substance with the Father." The emperor's will had much to do with the decision; at the same time it corresponded with the thought of almost all the bishops. While there was intense theological debate in the council, most of the bishops were not theologians, but pastors; and what influenced them was Athanasius' appeal to a conviction which was the result of their Christian experience. They believed that the Christ whom they knew as their redeemer could not be less than God. The creed adopted by the council forms the greater part of the creed called Nicene, which was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon in the next century. The

COUNCIL OF
NICEA

ITS CREED

teaching of this creed has been accepted ever since throughout the Christian Church.

CHRISTO-
LOGICAL
CONTROVERSY

The question of the divinity of Christ having been decided, discussion moved to the subject of the relation between the divine and human natures in him. Differences of opinion were bitter and some divisions in the Church resulted.¹ The fourth general council at Chalcedon in 451 made the final utterance of the Church on this subject, declaring that in Christ the two natures, divine and human, existed in full integrity.

CREED OF
CHALCEDON

Great truths that are vital to Christian faith, those of the incarnation and the trinity, were seen and expressed by the Church in this "age of the councils." These expressions have ever since received the assent of Christendom. With this gain there came a loss, because of a tendency to think that the most important thing in Christianity was to hold correct definitions of Christian truth. The test of a man's Christianity was not so much his loyalty to Christ in spirit and conduct as his agreement with what the Church had declared to be right doctrine, that is, his orthodoxy. One who was not orthodox was cast out as a heretic, however faithful to Christ his life.²

ORTHODOXY

Two great men who deeply affected the thought and all the life of the Church may be noticed here, Jerome and Augustine.

JEROME

Jerome was born about 340, in Pannonia, the

¹ See p. 64.

² For example, take the case of Nestorius, a man of blameless character, condemned in 431 solely for theological opinions.

country about modern Vienna. He became a Christian when about twenty-five years old, while he was a student at Rome. After living some time with a company of friends, devoted to the study of the Scriptures and to practices of self-denial, he passed several years as a monk in the desert near Antioch. Here he endured extreme hardships, but still continued his studies. These he also kept up during a residence at Rome which followed. By reason of his earnest Christianity and his intellectual power, and also his wit, he exerted great influence in the Roman aristocracy, particularly on some noblewomen. In 385 enthusiasm for monastic life drove him to take up his abode in a monk's cell in Bethlehem.

Here he lived until his death in 420, constantly studying and writing. Chief among his works was his translation of the Bible. The Old Testament was rendered for the first time into Latin, out of the Hebrew, and the existing Latin translation of the New Testament was carefully revised. Thus Jerome gave to the world one of the most largely used of all versions of the Scriptures. Later called the Vulgate, it was the Bible of the Middle Ages. In revised form, it is regarded by the Roman Catholic Church as the authoritative text of the Bible. In addition to this work he wrote commentaries on books of the Bible, theological treatises, books in praise of monasticism, and countless letters.

Augustine's early life is described in the wonderful book called his "Confessions." He was born in 354 in northern Africa. His mother was an earnest Christian, but he did not follow her example

JEROME'S
TRANSLATION
OF THE BIBLE

AUGUSTINE'S
EARLY LIFE

in his youth. At thirty he was a brilliant teacher of rhetoric and oratory in Carthage. Though he had thought much about religious matters, he was practically without religion, and his life was loose, in accordance with prevailing moral standards.

HIS CONVERSION

From Africa he went to Rome to teach, and thence to Milan. Here the preaching of Ambrose, the noble bishop of the city, affected him deeply. He began to study Christianity, and thus became almost persuaded. But he was not yet ready to follow Christ altogether. One day a Christian friend told him about Antony, the famous Egyptian monk, and how two of his friends had been converted by reading of Antony's career. Strangely moved, Augustine rushed into the garden of his house, and there he heard a child in a neighboring house calling out, "*Tolle, lege; tolle, lege*" (take, read). He took up a volume of Paul's Epistles, and as he opened it his eyes fell upon Rom. 13:13, 14. This caused him to decide for Christ, and in the year 387 he was received into the Church. This gave to Christianity its greatest man between Paul and Luther, one whose influence is still working in both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic parts of Christendom.

HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE

Eight years after his conversion Augustine became bishop of Hippo, one of the most important towns of Africa. Here he spent thirty-five years in devotion to the people under his charge and in the writing of many books on various aspects of Christian truth. He had serious difficulties with the Donatists, a large body of Christians who were sepa-

rated from the Catholic Church¹ and had a church of their own. The separation had occurred many years before, because the Donatists thought that the Church was too lenient toward those who had betrayed the faith in time of persecution, insomuch that it had ceased to be the true Church. By argument and personal influence Augustine won back some of them. Unfortunately the unreasonableness and violence of others led him to sanction the use of imperial power to compel their return to the Church. Augustine's thought about the Donatists issued in his very influential doctrine of the Church.² This was fundamentally important for the Roman Church of the Middle Ages and is such for the Roman Catholic Church.

Augustine's influence spread all over the Western part of the Church. It appeared in his doctrinal controversy with Pelagius, in which, after extensive discussion, his views largely prevailed. Here Augustine asserted man's absolute need of divine grace for righteous character. This emphasis on the grace of God caused Luther and Calvin to esteem Augustine very highly. Protestant theology has followed their example in honoring him.

D. THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH

Freedom and larger resources caused important developments in worship, following the lines already laid down. More liturgies and forms of prayer were produced. The musical element of the service was

DEVELOPMENT
OF WORSHIP

¹ See p. 40.

² See n. 62.

CHURCH
BUILDINGS

much enlarged. Choirs were introduced, and antiphonal singing. Many hymns were written, among them, in the fourth century, the *Te Deum*. Church buildings became larger and more decorative. Architecture advanced and church walls were covered with paintings, mosaics and embroideries. Dignity and impressiveness were sought in the services. Augustine tells how deeply he was affected, in Ambrose' magnificent church in Milan, by the solemn music, the stately ritual, the crowds of reverent worshipers, the commanding preaching of the bishop.

PREACHING

The celebration of the Eucharist became an imposing ceremony with fixed forms and much attention to details, emphasizing the idea that the sacrament was a sacrifice offered by the priest for the people, efficacious for their salvation. Although this tended to make preaching less important, the age had great preachers, among them Ambrose, a man brave enough to forbid the emperor Theodosius to enter his church until he had repented of his massacre of the Thessalonians, and John of Constantinople, whose eloquence won him the title of Chrysostom, "golden-mouthed."

PAGANISM
IN CHRISTIAN
WORSHIP

Paganism affected Christian worship in these centuries, because the Church lived in the midst of it until about 400,¹ and because after Constantine many entered the churches who were pagans under the surface. Saint worship is the chief example of this tendency. It was natural that veneration should be paid to martyrs and notable monastics and other

¹ See p. 50.

men and women famed for holiness. Among people who had been accustomed to the worship of gods of towns or sacred places, and who were not thoroughly Christianized, this veneration quickly passed over into a worship. The saints came to be regarded as something like lesser deities, whose intercession availed with God. Places connected with their lives were considered especially sacred. Pilgrimages to such places naturally followed. To venerate relics, or material objects connected with the saints, parts of their bodies or property, and to believe that in them was a power to work miracles, came easily to those in whom pagan superstition still remained. The causes of saint worship were particularly present in the case of the Virgin Mary, worship of whom began late in this period.

MARIOLATRY

E. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

1. *The Completion of the Catholic Church*

GENERAL
COUNCILS

In this period there appeared a general government of the Catholic Church, in the ecumenical or general councils. These exercised authority by issuing creeds which were binding on the Catholic Church. Such a council was in theory composed of all the bishops, though nowhere near all were present in the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. The magnifying of the office of bishop had gone so far that the bishop was considered to constitute the church; the church was the bishop and those in communion with him. When all the bishops were assembled the whole Church was thought to be assembled. Hence a council of the bishops, it was

OFFICE OF
BISHOP

believed, had the guidance of the Holy Spirit promised to the Church.

CENTRALIZA-
TION OF
AUTHORITY

We have seen in the Catholic Church a process of centralization of authority, in the rise of the monarchical bishop, or bishop at the head of a church, and then in the rise of the bishop's diocese. In this period the diocese developed much more, and the power of the bishops increased. Furthermore the bishops of the capital cities of the Roman provinces naturally became more important than other bishops. They were called metropolitans and each of them had oversight of several bishops and their dioceses. By a further step in centralization five bishops rose still higher, to the rank of patriarchs. These were the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

COMPLETE
ORGANIZATION
OF CATHOLIC
CHURCH

By 400 we see the fully developed Catholic Church, having its complete graded organization, its clergy exercising spiritual authority over the people, its councils making church law, its awe-inspiring worship, its authoritative creeds, and calling Christians who did not conform to it heretics. After this was accomplished Augustine taught his doctrine of the Catholic Church, which was soon generally accepted. He believed that the first bishops of the Church were appointed by the apostles. The apostles received from Jesus the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the care of the Church, and bequeathed them to their successors, the first bishops. The bishops who held their offices in regular succession from the first bishops possessed these gifts of the Spirit. Hence only they preserved the pure, original faith and

AUGUSTINE'S
DOCTRINE OF
THE CHURCH

could give the true Christian teaching which brought salvation. And they alone were keepers of the true sacraments through which the saving grace of God came to men. What made the true Church, Augustine taught, was the possession of bishops standing in this apostolic succession. Only in the Catholic Church, the Church of these bishops, was there salvation.

2. The Rise of the Roman Bishop

Still another step was taken in the centralization of the government of the Church. Among the five patriarchs, the two most prominent were those of Rome and Constantinople, the two principal cities of the world. Several causes worked to raise the Roman bishop to the highest place. The chief was that he was bishop of the ancient capital of the world. For centuries authority had gone forth from Rome. Inevitably its bishop had a power that no other bishop could have. Another cause was the custom which grew up of appealing to the Roman bishop in church disputes. This custom became more influential through encouragement from emperors. Then from the fifth century the so-called Petrine claim was generally accepted. This is the claim that Christ made Peter first among the apostles, and that Peter was the first bishop of Rome and bequeathed his primacy to his successors there, so that they had a divine right to first place among the bishops. The general acceptance of this made conditions just the same as though it were true. Besides all this, the Roman bishops pursued a consis-

RISE OF THE
POWER OF
THE ROMAN
BISHOP

tent policy of holding all authority that they had gained, claiming still more, and taking advantage of every opportunity to use their power. A striking example of this was Leo I (440-461), sometimes called the "first pope."¹ He asserted his universal authority in the strongest terms and claimed the right to give commands to bishops everywhere. Though his claims were utterly denied by the bishop of Constantinople, and met some resistance in the West, his aggressiveness greatly increased the power of his office.

3. Churches Separated from the Catholic Church

Certain churches separate from the Catholic Church were formed in this period, because of theological disputes, combined with political and racial causes. In the fifth century Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, was condemned by the Church and banished by the emperor for heretical opinions about the person of Christ. His ideas were shared by many Christians in the Syrian city Edessa. The "Nestorians" were undoubted believers in Christ. They differed from the Catholic Church only by explaining Christ's divinity in a way which was not considered orthodox. Being banished from Edessa for their heresy by the emperor, they went to Persia. There they greatly strengthened the existing Christianity. An independent church was organized, headed by an archbishop, who in 498 took

NESTORIAN CHURCH

¹ The word "pope" is derived from the late Latin word *papa*, meaning "father." This was frequently used in the Western part of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries as the title of any bishop. But gradually it was reserved for the bishop of Rome.

the title Patriarch of the East. The Nestorians were full of missionary zeal. Wherever they went, at their work, on trading journeys, in search of homes, they carried the gospel. Thus their church grew rapidly in Asia.

In the disputes about the nature of Christ there arose another party holding unorthodox opinions on this subject. This was called Monophysite, because its members taught that in Christ there was one nature, instead of two, divine and human, as the creed of Chalcedon said. Out of this party came three churches. The Church of Armenia, which began in the third century, refused to accept the decrees of Chalcedon and became separate, as it still is. The Jacobite Church was formed in the sixth century in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia. In the two last-named regions it now exists in weakness. The Coptic Church, comprising almost all the non-Greek Christians of Egypt, was cut off as heretical by the Catholic Church and has remained separate.

MONOPHYSITE
CHURCHES

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the breakup of the Roman Empire in the West.
2. What was the situation of the empire in the East?
3. Describe Constantine's action toward the Church.
4. Describe the activity of the Church in its position of freedom.
5. How did governmental favor affect the Church's growth?
6. What was the legislation of Theodosius regarding Christianity?
7. Describe the work of Patrick and Columba.

8. How was moral character in the Church affected by governmental favor?
9. Why did men become monks?
10. Describe the Benedictine Rule.
11. What was the doctrinal decision concerning Christ of the Council of Nicea?
12. What doctrinal decision was made at Chalcedon?
13. Describe the life and work of Jerome.
14. Describe the work and influence of Augustine.
15. Describe worship in this period.
16. How did saint worship arise?
17. Outline the completed government of the Catholic Church.
18. What was Augustine's doctrine of the Church?
19. Why did the Roman bishop gain power?

READING

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period III, sections i-x, xii-xviii.

Latourette: "The First Five Centuries" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I), chs. V, VI.

Workman: "Evolution of the Monastic Ideal," chs. I-III.

Workman: "Christian Thought to the Reformation," chs. III-V, on matters of doctrine.

Farrar: "Lives of the Fathers," Vol. II, on Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine.

Case: "Makers of Christianity from Jesus to Charlemagne," biographies.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," on separated Eastern churches.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: I

(A. D. 590-1073)

I. THE WORLD IN WHICH THE CHURCH LIVED

Warfare, confusion and barbarian darkness prevailed in western Europe during most of the period on which we now enter. The Lombards, one of the least civilized of the German tribes, seized a kingdom in northern and central Italy. Scandinavian pirates, the Normans and the Danes, harried the coast of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The Normans took lands in France and southern Italy, and in 1066 conquered England. The Franks greatly increased their domains in northern France and western Germany.

WARS AND
CONQUESTS IN
WESTERN
EUROPE

Out of the East came a great, new, conquering people, the Arabs, inspired by their new religion, Mohammedanism, to invincible fighting. In the beginning Mohammed was no doubt a sincere religious leader. The religion which he taught, having for its central feature the worship of one God, was much higher than the polytheism which had existed in Arabia before it. But he became a self-seeker, and adopted war as the means of spreading his religion. Before he died (632) he had conquered Arabia, and his religion had spread with his conquests. The Arabs, made warlike and unconquerable by his teachings, won a vast empire in western

CONQUESTS OF
THE MOSLEMS

Asia. By desperate fighting the Eastern emperors held them at bay before Constantinople. But the Arabs swept resistlessly over Egypt, northern Africa and Spain. Their onrush in the West was not stopped until they met one of the strong Germanic peoples. In 732 near Tours, in central France, the Franks, under Charles Martel, defeated the warriors of Islam, who then retired into Spain. By noticing on a map how short is the distance between Tours and Asia opposite Constantinople, as compared with the distance already traveled by the Arabs, one may get an idea of how near they came to conquering the world, and how great was the danger to Christianity. Though at last stopped, they long held Spain and the rest of their conquests, and so had the Mediterranean at their mercy.

Meanwhile there was no power in western Europe to uphold order and peace and civilization. Since the Western empire had passed away in the fifth century, no government had arisen to take its place. The kingdoms set up by the German tribes in the lands they had seized had not grown up to be anything like permanent civilized states. Their rulers were mostly lawless and violent, unable to maintain just and orderly government.

But after years of anarchy there came at last one of the world's chief builders of civilization. This was Karl, king of the Franks, better known as Charlemagne, whose splendid reign lasted from 768 to 814. By wars of conquest he made himself ruler of a domain stretching from the Elbe River in Germany to the Ebro in northern Spain,

ANARCHY IN
WESTERN
EUROPE

CHARLE-
MAGNE'S
EMPIRE

having for its western limit the Atlantic waters, extending eastward beyond Vienna, and including much of northern Italy. Over this great territory Charlemagne's rule was wise, vigorous and effective. He caused the first light to shine in the intellectual darkness which had overspread Europe with the barbarian migrations, by encouraging learned men with his patronage and by promoting the establishment of schools in connection with cathedrals and monasteries. He was a Christian, and used his power in the interest of Christianity. However, some of his efforts in this direction, especially his forcing the Saxons by ruthless wars to profess themselves Christians, did more harm than good.

Being the ruler of western Europe, and so strongly Christian, Charlemagne could not but come into relations with the head of Western Christianity, the Pope. The way to such relations had been paved for him by his father, Pepin, who at the Pope's appeal had driven off enemies threatening Rome. Like his father, Charlemagne gave help to the Popes. In reward Pope Leo III on Christmas Day, 800, at Rome, crowned him emperor. This was regarded as a revival of the ancient Roman Empire, and Charlemagne as a successor of the Roman emperors. For Roman rule had made so deep an impression on the mind of Europe that men could think of no other empire than the Roman. In token of his connection with Rome, Charlemagne took the city as one of his capitals. But he and most of his subjects were Germans, so that, while called Roman, his was really a German empire.

CHARLEMAGNE
CROWNED BY
THE POPE

Charlemagne's domain was divided by his grandsons into three kingdoms. Thus the empire passed away for a time. In the tenth century, however, a great German king, Otto I, built up by conquest a realm including the pre-war German Reich, Switzerland, and northern and middle Italy. As the climax of his triumphs, he was crowned emperor by the Pope at Rome in 962. Thus Charlemagne's power was in great part revived. The empire created by Otto was called the Holy Roman Empire.¹ It was the chief political power of the Middle Ages, and indeed it lasted until 1806, though it was not strong during much of its life after the thirteenth century. Like Charlemagne's empire, it was called Roman because it was regarded as continuing the ancient Roman power, but was really German. It was called "Holy" because the men of the time considered the empire to have a religious character. Their thought was that the kingdom of God has two representatives in this world, the empire to rule in temporal matters, and the Church, headed by the Pope, to rule in spiritual matters. According to the theory, both empire and Church included all men—though as a matter of fact the empire never comprised all of western Europe. Thus human society, it was thought, had these two divinely appointed methods of government. It is plain now that this idea of a division of authority between two equal rulers could not be

¹ The term "Holy" was not officially used until the twelfth century, though, in the time of Otto, men thought about the empire in the way in which this word signifies.

realized, and that either Church or empire must be supreme. In the next period we shall see how this worked out.

During all this time of change in the West, the Eastern Empire held its throne at Constantinople. Its emperors claimed to be successors to the Roman rulers, denying that the German monarchs had any right to this majesty. Their empire was greatly reduced by the Arabian conquests, most of its Asiatic and all of its African territory being lost; but for centuries they kept the tide of Mohammedan power from overwhelming Europe. To this Eastern Empire Christianity is in debt for many years of defense of its territory in eastern Europe against Islam.

EASTERN
EMPIRE

II. THE CHURCH

A. CHURCH EXTENSION

In this period we shall see in the life of the Church much to sadden us; but that the spirit of Christ was there is shown by the splendid work of its missionaries.

When England was conquered by the heathen Angles and Saxons,¹ they drove into the westernmost parts of the island many of the original inhabitants, the Britons, and with them British Christianity. This had been planted in the third century, and had grown strong. But the conquerors were themselves conquered by Christianity, which came to them from two sources. From Rome, Pope Gregory I sent about forty monks, headed by Augus-

MISSIONS IN
ENGLAND;
(1) ROMAN

¹ See p. 46.

tine, prior of a Roman monastery, as missionaries to England. In 597 they landed at the mouth of the Thames. In that year Ethelbert, king of Kent, was baptized, and soon his kingdom became largely a Christian land. Augustine was appointed first archbishop for England, having his seat at Canterbury. Other Roman missionaries followed his band. Another important Christian center was established at York, in the north of England.

(2) SCOTTISH

But the larger part in Christianizing the English was played by Scottish monks, who came from Iona and Ireland early in the seventh century.¹ In 635 they established a monastery, really a mission station, at Lindisfarne, an island on the Yorkshire coast. Hence the monks went out widely over England. "They were loved and revered by the people. When one of them was traveling about he was everywhere received with gladness, those who met him on the road would eagerly ask his blessing, and at every place which he visited, people came in crowds . . . to hear him, for they knew that he came for no other reason than out of care for their souls, that he might preach, baptize and visit the sick."² It was these Scottish monks who really won the English people for Christ.

ROMAN
CHRISTIANITY
PREVAILS

Thus there were in England two forms of Christianity, the Roman and the Scottish. They differed in some small matters of religious custom. Their

¹ See p. 51. These monks are properly called Scottish, since at this early time the people of Ireland were called Scots.

² Stephens and Hunt: "History of the English Church," Vol. I, p. 113.

chief difference was, however, that the Roman missionaries and their converts acknowledged the Pope's rule, while the Scottish monks, whose Christianity did not owe its origin to Rome, would not do this. After some controversy it was decided at a synod in 664, chiefly through the influence of King Oswiu, that the English church should obey Roman authority. The church was completely organized by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, late in the same century. By that time Christianity was the religion of most of England.

The English gave to other peoples some noble missionaries. Greatest of these, and of all missionaries in this age, was Boniface (680-755). He was born in Devonshire, of wealthy parents, and became a monk, famous for learning, eloquence and goodness. When no longer young he felt the call to carry the gospel to the Germans. Despite the entreaties of friends who foresaw for him a great career at home, he went thither, having obtained from the Pope appointment as missionary in Thuringia. He labored tremendously, preaching, baptizing, founding schools and monasteries, building up a church organization in the great region of southern Germany which he won for Christianity. Like most medieval missionaries, he made violent attacks on heathen worship, seeking thus to prove that the heathen gods were nothing. He cut down the oak sacred to Odin at Geismar in the presence of a terror-stricken crowd of barbarians, who had allowed him to attempt this in expectation of seeing him struck dead for sacrilege. He showed one of

BONIFACE IN
GERMANY

the marks of a great missionary in winning many to join in his work, mostly English, both men and women. In addition to his great charge as archbishop of Mainz, head of the German church, Pope Zacharias gave him the task of reforming and reorganizing the corrupt church of France, where he wrought a regeneration. Boniface crowned his work by laying down his high offices in his seventy-fourth year, and going as a humble preacher to the Frisians, a wild people living about the mouths of the Rhine. Two years later a band of them murdered him. He had made southern Germany permanently a Christian land, and hardly any man has won richer conquests for Christ.

ANSGAR IN
DENMARK
AND SWEDEN

While the Northmen were ravaging the coasts of Europe, the Church was answering by sending the gospel to the homes of these terrors of the world. "The apostle of the north" was Ansgar (801-865), a Frenchman of noble family, a monk of Corbey. He had long desired to preach Christ to heathen men. The opportunity came to him through the desire of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, to send a missionary to Denmark. After a few years there he crossed to Sweden with a few companions and made a beginning of the gospel. He was consecrated archbishop of Hamburg with missionary authority over the north. His workers were driven away and his see of Hamburg was ravaged by pirates, but he rallied his forces and at last saw Christianity planted in Sweden, though it did not become strong until the eleventh century.

SLAVS

The first of the Slavic lands to become Christian,

Moravia, was evangelized in the ninth century through the work of two remarkable brothers, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius, Greeks of Thessalonica. Considering the outreach of their influence among other Slavic peoples, they are among the most important Christian missionaries. A little later Christianity was established among the Serbs and Bulgars, and in Bohemia.

In several countries Christianity was forced on the people by their rulers, sometimes with cruelty. This took place in Norway and Poland, though in the former there was also work by English missionaries. In Russia to a large extent Christianity was forced. Late in the tenth century, Vladimir, ruler of a kingdom whose capital was Kiev, for political reasons desired to introduce Christianity and the clergy of the Eastern Church. Through Eastern missionaries Christianity was already somewhat known. But now Vladimir required all his subjects to profess it, whatever they knew about it. Clinging to their old heathenism, the people resisted, but were compelled. There was a double result. The church was established widely. Many of the people, especially in the country districts, remained heathen underneath. Some of the same heathenism, along with ignorant ideas of Christianity, remained among the people into modern times. The Russian church was from the first under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

RUSSIA

The most powerful agency for the advance of Christianity and culture in this period was monasticism. In western Europe thousands of monks

MONASTICISM
AND MISSIONS

were living in houses ordered by the Benedictine Rule. This made the monasteries homes of industry and intellectual life as well as of Christian devotion and self-denial. Planted among barbarians, as many of them were, they were agencies of civilization. They gave object-lessons in agriculture and handicrafts and building. They preserved and multiplied books and encouraged study and writing. In their schools they provided most of the education that was to be had. They were the chief charitable institutions of the time, caring for the sick and poor. Above all many were strong missionary centers. For centuries missions were carried on chiefly through monasteries.

METHOD OF
MEDIEVAL
MISSIONS

One difference between medieval missions and those we know meant much to the life of the Church for ages. In modern Protestant missions, generally, people are not received into the Church until they give evidence of Christian faith. But the method of medieval missions was to receive people as fast as they would accept baptism, without inquiring into the spiritual condition of each one. Thus great masses were brought into the Church and under its teaching and discipline. The idea was that actual Christianization would be accomplished by education and training within the Church. This method made possible rapid expansion of the Church, but also brought into it thousands who had little notion of what it is to be a Christian.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

Two matters are of prime importance under this

head in this period; the further rise of the Roman church and bishop, and the separation of the Catholic Church into the Eastern and Western branches.

1. The Rise of the Papacy

At the beginning of the period stands one of the greatest men of the line of the Popes, Gregory I, called the Great. The fact that his election to the papacy gives the date (590) of the beginning of one of the three chief periods into which church history is usually divided witnesses to his importance. Gregory was of unblemished character, honored for his goodness and the severe self-denial of his life. He had great energy and courage, extraordinary administrative ability, statesmanlike wisdom, warm sympathy for human need, and a noble vision and ambition for Christianity. He was a voluminous writer on matters of Christian truth, and his books, though not original or scholarly, had much influence in his time. He took keen interest in the ritual and music of the Church.

GREGORY I;
HIS CHARACTER

By the use of his remarkable gifts, Gregory made the most of the Roman bishop's place as patriarch of the West. He constantly asserted and enforced his authority over this great and growing part of the Church. He made the strong metropolitan bishops acknowledge the superiority of Rome. He caused worship to be according to the Roman ritual. He sent out missionaries, such as Augustine to England, who always spread obedience to Rome as well as Christianity. It would be unjust to say that his chief object was to increase the power of his office.

HIS WORK FOR
THE PAPACY

He labored incessantly to purify and strengthen the Church, to care for its poor, to give Christianity to the heathen. But he sincerely believed that "the apostolic see is the head of all the churches," and therefore in everything he so acted as to raise higher the Roman bishop. Though he refused to be called "universal bishop," he won acknowledgment of his authority beyond the western patriarchate, and went far toward universal dominion. Thus Gregory did more than any other one man, except Hildebrand, to make the papacy what it became in the Middle Ages.

FACTORS IN
THE RISE OF
THE PAPACY

Let us now look at several things which in this period combined to add to the power of the bishop of Rome. In western Europe no strong civil government existed between A. D. 400 and the time of Charlemagne (768-814), or again after Charlemagne, until Otto I came. In all this time there was no ruler who could give peace and justice and order. But at Rome, the ancient seat of world power, was the bishop, holding a time-honored holy office believed to have been first held by an apostle, claiming wide dominion in the Church, reaching out all over the West with his sovereignty. And many of the Roman bishops were strong men, able to rule. In all western Europe for many years the Pope was the only representative of permanent government. In this situation the power of the papacy inevitably grew throughout the West, and to a lesser degree in other parts of the Church.

(1) THE POPE
THE ONLY
STRONG RULER
IN WESTERN
EUROPE

Furthermore, some of the Popes were representatives before men not merely of authority, but also

of righteousness; and this in a time when many rulers knew no law but their own desires. During the papacy of Nicholas I (858-867), Lothaire, king of Lorraine, put away his wife and took another woman, and got approval of his course from the subservient archbishops of his realm. Such a situation was, of course, a grave menace to general morals. But the Pope, after a long struggle, compelled the king to take back his wife and dismiss her rival. No other power in the world could have brought this about. But the authority of the head of the Church, resting on the fear of excommunication, which was believed to mean eternal death, sufficed to win the victory. Thus the Pope stood before the world for something greater than a king's power, that is, the moral law. Such affairs, of course, made the papacy stronger; but they show that in those times its strength could be a force for good.

Still another thing that strengthened the papacy was the position of the Popes as civil rulers in Rome. This is called the "temporal power." During most of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries there was no civil government worth mentioning in Rome. Often conditions of public distress from pestilence or famine, or of danger from enemies, or of anarchic disorder, made it the bishop's duty to assume the government and rule the city. Such was the case with Gregory I. The people of Rome compelled him to accept election to the bishopric because the ruinous state of the city demanded a strong, wise, righteous ruler, and they knew that such he would be. Thus the bishop grew to be the regular civil as

(2) THE POPES
STOOD FOR
RIGHTEOUS-
NESS

(3) RISE OF
THE
TEMPORAL
POWER OF THE
PAPACY

well as spiritual ruler of the city. During this period Rome came to be practically independent, with the Popes as its sovereigns. Besides the city, the Popes governed extensive lands in Italy given to them by Pepin, king of the Franks, Charlemagne's father.¹ They thus held a considerable territory, having revenues and an army like other civil rulers. This temporal sovereignty gave the Popes a security of power which could not have been gained otherwise.

(4) FALSE
DECRETALS

Another factor of strength was the famous forgery called the False Decretals. This, the most influential fraud known to history, was a collection of decisions of church councils and decrees and letters of Popes. Some were genuine; but many of the writings attributed to Popes were forged.² They purported to be the work of bishops of Rome from the earliest Christian times down to the eighth century. They represented all these bishops, even the earliest, as exercising authority over the whole Church, and as being acknowledged to have such authority. These false documents were probably composed in France about the middle of the ninth century. They seem to have been written largely with the purpose of defending the bishops against the interference of metropolitans or archbishops³ and of civil rulers. This they did by representing

¹ These lands did not belong to Pepin, for he had no authority in Italy; nevertheless he gave them away. The Popes kept them, and they formed a large part of the Papal States, over which the Popes were sovereigns until 1870. The temporal sovereignty was revived over a small territory in 1929.

² The false character of these documents is now universally acknowledged by Roman Catholic scholars, along with others.

³ Metropolitans were often called archbishops, from this time.

the Popes as asserting the rights of the bishops. In doing this they also magnified the power of the papacy. Thus support out of history for the papal claims was manufactured.

Nicholas I¹ was the first Pope to use the Decretals to strengthen the papal office. He employed them to overcome archbishops who claimed to be independent of Roman rule. The false documents are so clearly false that nowadays it would be impossible to accomplish anything by means of them. But in the rude times when they appeared there were no scholars to see and expose the fraud. Following Nicholas' use of them, they were taken into the law of the Roman Church, and became a power to increase the papal authority.

Missions also played a part in building up the Roman power. When the Popes appointed missionaries they always charged them to bring the lands which they won into obedience to Rome. Thus every gain for Christianity meant gain for the papal power. We have already seen how the church in England came under the authority of the Popes, because of the presence of Roman missionaries.² Boniface did much to extend the papal sway, in the part of Germany which he won from heathenism, and also in Bavaria and France.

(5) MISSIONS

Strange to say, the advance of Islam was another force which raised Rome's power in the Church. When western Asia and northern Africa came under the Arab rule, the Church was terribly

(6) ADVANCE
OF ISLAM

¹ See p. 79.

² See pp. 71, 72.

weakened in the East. Three of the five patriarchates, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, fell into the possession of a religion fiercely intolerant of Christianity. Meanwhile in the West the Church was growing fast through its missions. Thus that part of the Church which acknowledged the Pope's sovereignty gained in importance, while the Eastern portion, in which it was denied, became smaller and weaker.

2. The Separation of East and West

CAUSES OF THE SEPARATION

The events which occasioned the final division of the Catholic Church into the Eastern and Western churches were so trifling as not to be worth mentioning. For the real causes of the division we must look deeper. One was a difference of race. In the West the dominant race was the Latin, which had been strengthened by mixture with the Germans. In the East it was the Greek, which had received much infusion of Oriental blood. Here was a difference which easily became the parent of misunderstanding and lack of sympathy, strengthening all other forces of separation. Another cause of the division of the Church was the division of the rule of the empire between East and West. The gulf between the two parts of the empire was widened when the line of Western emperors ended and only the Eastern emperors remained, having no real power in the West. The Eastern emperors ruled the church, along with all else in their domain. But the church in the West, headed by the Roman bishop,

would not endure their control, and finally broke with the Eastern emperors when the Pope crowned Charlemagne Roman emperor. A third cause of division was the ever-growing claims of the Roman bishop, which were never acknowledged by the rival patriarch of Constantinople.

The first breach came in 867, when, because of a quarrel between the Pope and the patriarch of Constantinople, an Eastern council declared the Pope deposed from his bishopric. This was undone by another council two years later. But the feud of East and West went on, with much bitter discussion of small differences of doctrine and usage, until 1054. Then, after another quarrel between Pope and patriarch, the Pope pronounced anathema on the patriarch and his supporters. This was the final rupture. From this time the Greek and Roman Churches stood apart, each claiming to be the true Catholic Church and refusing any recognition to the other. The Greek, or Eastern, Church comprised Greece, most of the Balkan peninsula, and Russia, with most of the Christians in Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. The rest of Europe obeyed the Pope.

Hereafter our attention will be given chiefly to the Roman or Western Church, because that played a much more influential part in the history of the world than did the Greek or Eastern, and because with it the religious life of America today has much more connection than it has with the latter church. But we should not let ourselves think that this was the whole Christian Church. Besides it there were,

THE
SEPARATION

as well as the Eastern Church, the Nestorian and other separate churches in Asia and Egypt.¹

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What was the general condition of western Europe in the first part of this period?

2. How far did the Arab conquests extend?

3. Describe the empire and government of Charlemagne. What were his relations with the Pope?

4. When was Charlemagne's empire revived? What was the medieval idea of the relation between the empire and the Church?

5. Describe the Christianization of the English.

6. Describe Boniface's work. What part of Europe did he add to the Church?

7. Describe the Christianization of Russia.

8. What was the missionary service of monasteries?

9. How did medieval missions differ from modern Protestant missions?

10. What did Gregory I do for the papacy?

11. Explain these causes of the growth of the power of the Pope;

a. The political situation in western Europe.

b. The moral attitude of some Popes.

c. The gaining of temporal power by the Popes.

d. The False Decretals.

e. Missions.

f. The advance of Islam.

12. What were the causes of the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches?

13. Describe the final rupture between them. What were the territories of the two churches?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," chs. VI-XIII, XIX, XX, on the general history, with special interest in church history.

¹ See p. 64.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period III, section xx; Period IV, sections i-v.

M. W. Stubbs: "How Europe Was Won for Christianity."

Latourette: "The Thousand Years of Uncertainty" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. II), chs. II, III.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," ch. VI, on the separation of East and West.

Case: "Makers of Christianity from Jesus to Charlemagne," biographies of Gregory I, Boniface, Charlemagne.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: II

(A. D. 590-1073)

C. CHRISTIANITY AT WAR WITH PAGANISM WITHIN THE CHURCH

CAUSES OF PAGANISM IN THE CHURCH

It must now be clear that the Church during the period before us contained many people who were only slightly Christianized, more pagan than Christian. Let us briefly review the causes of this state of things. One was the action of the Roman emperors in legalizing and favoring Christianity. Crowds adopted the religion made fashionable by imperial patronage. Another cause came when the emperor Theodosius decreed that his subjects must profess Christianity in the orthodox form. Thus was inaugurated the emperors' policy of using their power to crush idolatry and constrain people to belong to the Church. The methods of the missionaries, again, resulted in the presence in the Church of thousands of Germans and other peoples who had never been converted.¹ And when peoples were forced by their own rulers² or by conquerors³ to accept Christianity, this result came in even greater measure.

¹ See p. 76.

² See pp. 51, 75.

³ See p. 69.

Thus within the Church there was a great mass of paganism, of pagan ideas about religion and morals, and pagan ways of action, carried over by these people who were Christians only in name and form. Christianity's struggle with paganism therefore had to be waged within the Church, as well as in the world without. Its great task in the Middle Ages was the conquest of the barbarians of northern and western Europe, who were to become the dominant peoples of the world. This was largely done after they entered the Church. This struggle within the Western Church was so hard that Christianity was for a time almost overcome in its own home.

The task of Christianity was made harder by two things wherein the times about which we are speaking differed from ours. We live in a world where Christianity has been at work like the leaven for centuries, so that it has affected most men, even those who are not personally Christians. Therefore we have many governments which are in a measure forces for the righteousness which Christianity teaches and seeks to establish. We have also a public opinion which in what it praises and in what it condemns agrees with Christianity to a considerable extent. But in the times of which we are speaking neither of these things existed in western Europe. Its peoples were just emerging from barbarism and paganism. Government, except in a few cases like those of Charlemagne and Otto I, consisted of the rule of men who were themselves ungoverned and violent, and often no-

STRUGGLE OF
CHRISTIANITY
AGAINST
PAGANISM IN
THE CHURCH

NO HELP
TOWARD
CHRISTIAN
MORALITY
FROM
GOVERNMENTS
OR PUBLIC
OPINION

toriously wicked. Furthermore, since Christianity had had so short a time to work, there was nothing like a Christian public opinion. "The traditions of society at large were undiluted heathenism."

1. Life in the Church

DECLINE OF MORALS IN THE CHURCH

CORRUPTION IN THE CLERGY

What a battle Christianity had for existence appears in the depths to which character and conduct sank within the Church. Even among the clergy moral conditions were incredibly bad. Look, for example, at Principal Workman's picture of the Church in France in the eighth century, before Boniface disciplined it into some decency. "The majority of its priests were runaway slaves or criminals, who had assumed the tonsure¹ without any ordination. Its bishoprics were regarded as private estates, and were openly sold to the highest bidder. . . . The archbishop of Rouen could not read; his brother of Treves had never been ordained. . . . Drunkenness and adultery were among the lesser vices of a clergy that had become rotten to the core."² It is not too much to say that throughout Europe scandalous and shameful priests outnumbered those of worthy life. Not only ignorance and neglect of duty were frequent, but also luxurious living, gross immorality, robbery and simony, that is, the buying of clerical offices. The higher clergy were no better, perhaps worse, than

¹ The shaving of a circle at the crown of the head, which was the sign of priesthood.

² "The Church of the West in the Middle Ages," Vol. I, pp. 75, 76

the lower. Simony was the regular and recognized way of obtaining a bishopric, and for some bishoprics there was a fixed price.

Nor was the papacy exempt. Its state during most of a hundred and fifty years beginning about 890 was vile to the last degree. The office that had been raised so high by Gregory I and Nicholas suffered every imaginable disgrace. Political rivals and their followers fought for it. Some of its occupants were notoriously guilty of all sorts of crimes. For years a family of infamous women controlled the papacy, giving it as they willed. Then the emperor Otto I, in order to rescue it from its degradation, made it subject to himself. For forty years the emperors set up and pulled down Popes, choosing, it is true, some better men than had lately borne the title. Afterwards the office fell into the hands of a noble Italian family, the Counts of Tusculum. Their possession ended with Benedict IX, whose debaucheries and robberies and murders finally roused the Roman populace to revolt and drive him out.¹ That the papacy recovered from all this shame and gained far greater power than ever before, shows how strong a hold the office had on the mind of the people of Europe.

DEGRADATION
OF THE
PAPACY

Even those who were supposed to have gone apart from the world to find Christian surroundings and lead consecrated lives, that is, the monas-

MONASTIC
CORRUPTION

¹ These facts regarding the papacy are related by Roman Catholic as well as Protestant historians. See, for example, Alzog: "Universal Church History," Vol. II, pp. 292-298.

tics, were infected by the prevailing degradation. In fact some of the worst reports of immorality concern them. Within most monasteries conditions were not much, if at all, better than in the world without.

MORAL
CONDITION OF
THE PEOPLE

When religious leaders, even those in the highest places, were of such character, it is needless to say much about the morals of the people of the Church. By the end of the tenth century, in a large part of western Europe practically every person was in the Church and was a Christian so far as name and religious ceremonies go. But Christian moral teaching had not yet had much effect on the conduct of men. While there were individuals in whose lives true Christian goodness shone, society as a whole showed little of the transforming work of Christianity. Dean Church, explaining why so many men and women in this time took up monastic life, says, "Let a man throw himself into the society of his day then, and he found himself in an atmosphere to which real religion, the religion of self-conquest and love, was simply a thing alien or unmeaning, which no one imagined himself called to think on; or else amid eager and overmastering activities, fiercely scorning and remorselessly trampling down all restraints of even common morality."¹ The wickedness and misery of the mass of men in these ages were appalling.

This state of things was due simply to paganism, present within the Church and unconquered by Christianity. This corrupt society was really

¹ Church: "St. Anselm," p. 4.

a heathen society, though nominally Christian. In order to get some idea of what it was to live in the world of that time, we must keep in mind the fact that, besides being ruled largely by heathen morality, the world was swept by almost incessant fighting. Wars, great and small, among the kings and nobles, and fresh barbarian attacks filled western Europe with savagery and destruction.¹ Moreover, it was a world of gross ignorance. The ancient Greco-Roman culture had been well-nigh drowned by the flood of barbarian invasion. Knowledge, even of the most rudimentary kind, was the possession of only a few. Charlemagne's revival of learning² was the only bright spot in a state of things which makes these times deserve the name of the "Dark Ages." In such a world Christianity had the task of getting its moral teachings obeyed.

2. Worship and Popular Religion

In an earlier chapter we saw Christian worship somewhat corrupted by paganism. In this period, since there was a larger pagan element in the church, its worship showed this influence in greater degree. And not only worship, but also a whole system of religious acts and customs, witnessed to the presence of pagan religion. What Dean Milman called a "Christian mythology" grew up and formed the Christianity of many people—probably it would be safe to say of the mass of the people. The one God revealed through Christ was not

PAGANISM IN
WORSHIP AND
POPULAR
RELIGION

¹ See beginning of Ch. V.

² See p. 69.

MARIOLATRY
AND SAINT
WORSHIP

the only object of worship. A number of other beings received it, and in the minds of many people these others took a larger place than God. They seemed nearer and fuller of human sympathy. Chief among these was the Virgin Mary, whose worship was greatly developed. A series of festivals connected with her was added to the church year. Prayers were constantly offered to her for her intercession with God. The saints, of whom there were now many, martyrs and monastics and other holy men and women, were invoked for their protection and their availing prayers. Places, churches, individuals and societies had their saintly protectors, or patron saints. The saints had their special days for worship, and so the church calendar grew up. Canonization, that is, elevation to sainthood, was now given by regular procedure, through the decisions of the Popes. The custom of going on pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints, and to other places esteemed holy, grew greatly. Such journeys were thought to give the pilgrims merit in the sight of God. The most meritorious pilgrimage, of course, was that to the Holy Land. This, it was believed, earned forgiveness for all sins.

PILGRIMAGES

BELIEF IN
RELICS

Relics played a very large part in popular religion. Things said to be the bones of the apostles and the chains with which Peter was bound, for example, were treasured by their happy possessors, and were believed to have the power of working miracles. Gregory I, who was a leader intellectually as well as in other respects, sought relics

with devout enthusiasm and in perfect faith told stories of their wondrous powers.

In worship the central feature was the mass, as the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now usually called.¹ This was regarded as a sacrifice constantly offered to God for the sins of the world. More and more it was believed that the bread and wine of the sacrament were the veritable flesh and blood of Jesus, though the belief was not yet a declared doctrine of the church.

THE MASS
CENTRAL IN
WORSHIP

In the popular religion there was a large element of fear, as was the case in the pagan religions which Christianity had displaced. The world was thought to be full of evil spirits, devils, who sought to injure men's bodies and souls. Against their malice the powers of angels and saints and the magic charms of holy relics must be appealed to. An awful sanctity was attributed to church buildings, to the elements of the mass, to relics, to the persons of the clergy. Stories were told and believed of how irreverent acts in churches and disrespect to priests had been followed by calamity or instant death. The power of Christianity over many people was largely a power of fear.

A RELIGION
OF FEAR

At first sight it seems unaccountable that Christianity should take such a form as this, so far removed from the simplicity and spirituality and joyful trust of the religion of Jesus. But we can understand how it happened when we think that many of the people among whom this kind of

¹ See note, p. 60.

Christianity grew up still had pagan ideas concerning religion.

D. DAWN AFTER THE DARK AGES

Again and again in the history of the Church Christianity has seemed almost overwhelmed by human imperfection in its own home; and then the life of Christ, the Head of the Church, has shown its power. In the eleventh century there came, in the Western Church, a revival of religion, in a form suited to those times.

REVIVAL OF
RELIGIOUS
LIFE

NEW LIFE IN
EUROPE
AFTER A. D.
1000

From about 1000 we begin to see a change for the better in all the life of western Europe. After centuries of war and anarchy there was something like peace and order. The German peoples long since had established themselves in homes and were advancing in civilization. The strong government recently founded in Germany by Otto I had enlarged its territory eastward and held back invaders from that quarter. The Normans and Danes, last of the barbarians to attack western and southern Europe, had stopped their ravages, and some of the Normans had settled in northwestern France, Normandy. The Arabs had ceased from aggression and were confined to southern Spain. Europe had a measure of rest, and leisure to think. A breath of new life stirred in the world. Intellectual interest awakened. Teachers arose in monastery and cathedral schools and scholars traveled far to study under them. The writing of books increased. Art revived, especially in architecture, which now entered its wonderful medieval development. This general

strengthening of the higher life of humanity gave opportunity to Christianity. Long living and working in spite of the hindrances of a disordered world. it now had room to show its power, and did show it.

Perhaps what shocks us most in the conditions at which we have been looking is the corruption in the monasteries, supposed to be the homes of special consecration. A real revival ought to show itself there, if anywhere. And there the awakening began. For the beginnings of this movement we have to look back into the tenth century. In that time there was founded, in southeastern France, the monastery of Cluny. Here the Benedictine rule was observed in its early severity, and the monks really lived as men who had taken such vows ought to live. From Cluny there spread over France and into Germany the conscience of existing evils and the purpose to amend life, until many monasteries were purged of their unrighteousness. New monasteries also were founded, embodying the spirit of the Cluniac reform. There was formed what was called the Cluniac congregation, a group of monasteries in France under the control of the abbot of Cluny, all of them living according to its good example.

MONASTIC
REFORM
AT CLUNY

Early in the eleventh century there grew up a reforming party, determined to raise the church out of its evil case. It was composed mostly of men who had been trained in the zealous and strict life of Cluny or in monasteries under its influence. The general idea of their policy of reform was to set the church free from entanglement with

THE
REFORMING
PARTY

ITS PROGRAM;

(1) WAR
AGAINST
SIMONY

worldly powers and interests. One item in their program was the abolition of simony, the purchase of offices in the church. This evil was the result of the great wealth of the church. Bishoprics and monasteries had attached to them large and rich lands, over which the bishops and abbots ruled just as great nobles did over their lands. Like the nobles these church officers had to own allegiance to the kings of the countries, because of their control of land in the kings' domains. Thus the civil rulers got into their hands the power of appointing bishops and abbots; and, being often irreligious men, they would sell these appointments for money. This practice was, of course, ruinous to the spiritual life of the church. Men who would buy religious offices could not be the men who ought to have the offices.

(2) ENFORCE-
MENT OF
CLERICAL
CELIBACY

Another part of the program of reform was an attack on the general violation of clerical celibacy. Though this had long been the law of the church, it was commonly disobeyed, and many bishops and priests were married. To clerical marriage the reformers were opposed because it seemed to them that married men must be more interested in amassing property for their children than in the welfare of the church. If this and simony were abolished, they believed, the church would be in great measure freed from the control of worldly interests. A third part of the program was a strict cleansing of the lives of the clergy. Themselves men of severe lives, these reformers hated and despised the prevalent immorality, and swore destruction to it. As a means of realizing these aims,

(3) MORAL
DISCIPLINE OF
THE CLERGY

the reforming party meant to increase the power of the Pope and secure its use for their objects.

The reformers got their first chance to work out their aims in 1049, when one of them became Pope Leo IX. He was made Pope by the great emperor Henry III, who, when the disgraceful Benedict IX sold his office, interfered in order to save the papacy from further degradation. Leo and several successors strove to carry out the plan of the reforming party, and made things somewhat better. These Popes were dominated by the man who became leader of the reformers, and who was to be the greatest of all Popes—Hildebrand.

REFORMING
POPES

Hildebrand was an Italian of humble birth, who though not a monk had imbibed the spirit of the monks of Cluny. Remaining in a minor church office, he was the power behind the throne in the papacy from the time of Leo IX to his own election, in 1073. He really chose Popes and molded their policy, working out steadily a great plan for the regeneration of the church, which lay clear before his far-seeing mind. It was in line with the plan of his party, but was greater with the greatness of his own intellect and character. Thus Hildebrand waited, shaping things so that when he himself became Pope he would have the fullest opportunity to accomplish his purposes. In 1073, while a requiem for Pope Alexander II was being sung in St. Peter's, the people suddenly shouted: "Hildebrand! The blessed Peter chooses Hildebrand!" At once the cardinals chose him, and he became Pope Gregory VII. What his great plans

HILDEBRAND

were and how he wrought them out we shall see in our next chapter.

E. LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE CHURCH

The final separation of the Eastern and Western churches occurred only a score of years before the close of this period. But for two centuries before that, as we have seen,¹ the two parts of the Church were estranged. And still further back, in the sixth century, the Eastern part of the Church began to lead a life largely separate from that of the Western.

THEOLOGICAL DISPUTES AND RESULTING DIVISIONS

The Greek fondness for theological discussion showed itself in the continuance of disputes about the person of Christ, long after the question had been settled, as was supposed, by the Council of Chalcedon. Of the Monophysites and the separate churches which they formed we have already spoken.² After them, in the seventh century, came the Monothelites, holding that there were two natures in Christ, but only one will governing his life. Against them the orthodox contended fiercely. At the sixth general council, at Constantinople in 680, the Monothelite teachings were condemned. Though the Western part of the Church took little interest in these disputes, Pope Honorius I was drawn into the controversy of the Monothelites, and approved their views. Hence the Council of Constantinople

¹ See p. 83.

² See p. 65.

actually pronounced an anathema upon the Pope for heresy.

While Christianity in the East was miserably divided by empty wranglings over fine points of doctrine, there fell upon it the terrible attack of the Moslems. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Arab warriors of Islam conquered Syria, Palestine, part of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Thus the Eastern Empire suffered irreparable loss. Nor was the Church ever afterwards as strong in the East as it had been. To be sure, the remainder of Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula and Greece were long held by the empire, so that there the Church was defended against the tide of Islam. Moreover, the Arab rulers were comparatively tolerant toward Christians. The Christians were compelled to pay tribute, exposed to dishonor in various ways, and forbidden to build new churches; but they were allowed to keep up their worship. Nevertheless, the Church was sorely weakened where it had to live under the Moslem power.

EFFECT OF THE
MOSLEM
CONQUESTS

After the Moslem conquests Eastern Christianity fell for a time into weakness and stagnation. In the eighth century it had its last great thinker for ages in John of Damascus, who wrote a full statement of doctrine according to the creeds. After him the Church in the East held rigidly to his way of expressing Christian truth. There was little change, because Christian life ran low. In other respects also Eastern Christianity manifested the conservatism, holding to the old because it was old, which ever since has been marked in it. The Church was

DECLINE
AFTER THE
CONQUESTS

CONSERVATISM

IMAGE
CONTROVERSIES

further weakened in the eighth and ninth centuries by controversies resulting from the attempts of certain strong emperors to abolish the veneration of images of Christ and the saints. These "images" were pictures, not statues. The veneration of them had become grossly superstitious. But the emperors were resisted by the people under the leadership of the monks. Even some intellectuals defended picture worship against the emperors, on the ground that the state was seeking to dominate the Church and that the pictures taught the real human life of Christ. Though the emperors were determined, even resorting to persecution, they could not force the people to give up the pictures. In 869 a synod in Constantinople declared in favor of them, and ever since they have been prominent in Eastern worship and popular religion.

REVIVAL

After this division ended, about the middle of the ninth century, something of a revival took place in both empire and Church. In the Church missionary spirit awakened. It was at this time that Constantine and Methodius went to Moravia. Later the missionaries were sent who spread Christianity among the Serbs and Bulgars and in Russia. An intellectual awakening also took place and distinguished scholars appeared in the Church. Nevertheless the generally conservative character of Eastern Christianity remained fixed.

In this period the Nestorian Church increased the missionary work in Asia which began at its birth. There were certainly Christians in western China and India in the seventh century.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. How did paganism come to be strong within the Church?
2. What were the signs of paganism in the life of the Church; in
 - a. The clergy?
 - b. The papacy?
 - c. Society generally?
3. Describe the signs of paganism in worship and popular religion;
 - a. The development of Mariolatry.
 - b. The development of saint worship.
 - c. The adoration of relics.
 - d. The element of fear in religion.
4. What change occurred in European life about the year 1000?
5. Describe the monastery of Cluny and the reform in monastic life caused by it.
6. What was the program of the reforming party of the eleventh century?
7. Who was the great leader of the reformers? Describe his influence in the papacy before he became Pope.
8. What was the effect of theological disputes on the Church in the East?
9. What were its losses through Moslem conquests?
10. What was the condition of Christians under Arab rule?
11. What was the leading characteristic of the Church in the East after the Moslem conquests?
12. What were the image controversies?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," chs. XII, XIV, XVI, XXVII.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period IV, sections vi-ix, xiii.

Workman: "Evolution of the Monastic Ideal," pp. 219-236, on monastic reform.

Coulton: "Five Centuries of Religion," Vol. I, chs. XVI, XVII, on monastic reform.

J. T. McNeill: "Makers of Christianity from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher," biographies of monastic reformers.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," Div. II, chs. I-IV.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: I

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH

A. THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY

1. *Hildebrand*

At the end of the preceding period we saw coming on the scene at Rome the man of whom another who was like him in imperial ambition said, "If I were not Napoleon, I should wish to have been Hildebrand." Hildebrand found the papacy in weakness and humiliation, and made it the greatest power in Europe. He was the greatest of the Popes, the chief builder of the medieval papacy. Gregory I before him had done much at the structure, and after him Innocent III carried the work farther, but the master builder was Hildebrand. In his mind there rose an ideal for the papacy and the church which dazzles us with its daring height. His genius planned a policy for the purpose of turning this ideal into fact, and his iron will made it a fact in good measure.

a. The Church to Be Freed from the World

The policy of Hildebrand had two great parts. The first was to free the church from the control of the world. This was the purpose of the reform-

PAPAL
ELECTIONS
FREED FROM
IMPERIAL
CONTROL

ing party of which he had become the leader. Hildebrand determined to deliver the church from slavery to civil rulers and to worldly interests. In order to accomplish this, one necessary thing was a change in the method of choosing the head of the church. For many years the emperors had controlled the choice of Popes. During the papacy of Nicholas II (1058-1061), when Hildebrand was really directing affairs, he procured the establishment of the college of cardinals, with power to elect the Pope. The emperor's power in the matter was reduced to practically nothing. Thus the head of the church was chosen by the church, through its officers, not forced upon it by some powerful ruler.

ABOLITION OF
LAY
INVESTITURE

Another thing necessary for the church's freedom was to do away with the appointment of bishops by kings. This practice was known as "lay investiture," because the bishop was invested with certain symbols of his office by the ruler, a layman. We should all agree with Hildebrand about this. The church could not allow its chief officers, the men who directed its work, to be appointed for it by the civil authorities of the countries in which they were to serve. It must choose them itself. The Scotch Presbyterians who, in 1843, left the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church, because they could not endure that the ministers should be chosen by the great landholders of the parishes instead of by the congregations, were asserting Hildebrand's principle. The principle is that the church cannot be a true church of Christ if it does not choose its own teachers and rulers. Moreover, Hilde-

brand saw clearly that so long as civil rulers appointed to bishoprics and other church places, there would be simony.¹ The only way to get rid of this great evil, which was choking the life of the church, was to cut out its roots by removing church office from the control of kings.

Soon after he became Pope, Hildebrand began a determined war upon lay investiture. But the kings were most unwilling to lose the appointing of bishops. Many of the bishops held large and valuable lands. Naturally the rulers insisted upon choosing those who held such great possessions in their countries. Thus Hildebrand was drawn into conflict with the most powerful men of Europe. Characteristically, he did not shrink from the conflict, but rather forced it, and struck first at the most powerful opponent, the ruler of the German or Holy Roman Empire.² Here the two great powers of Europe, the church and the empire, finally entered the inevitable conflict.

CONTEST WITH
CIVIL RULERS

The emperor, Henry IV, an obstinate, tyrannical man, refused consent to the Pope's position on the question of the appointment of bishops, and in other ways resisted him. After some parley and threatening, Hildebrand excommunicated Henry and declared him deposed from his throne. Now Henry had many enemies among his subjects, and parts of his domain were already in revolt. The papal excommunication strengthened the rebellion, and Henry found himself unable to quell it. He

CONTEST WITH
EMPEROR
HENRY IV

¹ See pp. 88, 89, 96.

² See p. 70.

was forced to make most humiliating terms with his subjects, the great nobles of Germany. He was to submit himself absolutely to the Pope, and was to obtain from him within a year release from excommunication, on penalty of forever losing his throne. The decision as to whether he should keep the throne was to be made at the end of the year by a German Diet,¹ presided over by the Pope. Meanwhile he must live in retirement, and make no attempt to use his imperial authority. The nobles planned at this Diet to choose another in Henry's place, and so be rid of him.

Henry saw one way out. He could try to get his excommunication removed at once, instead of waiting a year. If he thus made his peace with the Pope, his position in regard to his throne would be much stronger. He determined to stake everything on this one chance. With his queen and their infant child, he set out in midwinter on a hasty journey to Italy, crossing the Alps through deep snows and great hardships. At the castle of Canossa, in Lombardy, in January of 1077, he found the Pope. Hildebrand refused to see him, and for three days friends of both debated terms of reconciliation. The inexorable Pope would hear to nothing but Henry's resignation of his crown, and to this Henry would not consent. Finally he determined to gain pardon by abject humiliation. Early one winter morning, barefoot, and wearing only a coarse woolen shirt, the emperor knocked

HENRY AT
CANOSSA

¹ The Diet was the assembly of the nobles of the empire.

at the castle gate. All day he stood and knocked, in vain. For two days more the monarch of the Holy Roman Empire thus implored mercy. Finally Hildebrand relented so far as to discuss conditions of pardon. The outcome was that the excommunication was lifted from the emperor. But he had to promise that he would submit his title to his crown to the decision of his nobles, and that in case he should keep it he would obey the Pope in all things concerning the church.

Thus at Canossa the Pope triumphed over the emperor. But Hildebrand's victory proved not so complete as it seemed there. He had overreached himself. His arrogance and cruel severity toward the holder of the greatest kingly power on earth, whom men regarded as ruling by God's appointment, roused indignation and hostility. In Germany feeling turned in Henry's favor. He gathered followers and fought for his throne. Scorning the thunders of Hildebrand, who again excommunicated and deposed him, he led an army into Italy and entered Rome. It was during troubles which followed this that Hildebrand left Rome, never to return. As he lay dying a few years later, he said, "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and yet I die in exile."

Yet the famous scene at Canossa did mean a victory for Hildebrand and the church. The victory was assured forty-five years later by an agreement between the emperor and the Pope of that time. All these years the contest continued, but in 1122 it was ended by a compromise. The bishops

OUTCOME OF
CONTEST BE-
TWEEN POPE
AND
EMPEROR

were to be elected by the clergy, and the Popes were to invest them with their spiritual office. The emperor was to invest them with their lands and their authority as temporal rulers. Thus the emperor got the power over those who held land in his domains, on which he had insisted. But the church carried its point, that it must be free to choose its own officers.

ABOLITION OF
CLERICAL
MARRIAGE

The third thing which Hildebrand thought necessary for the church's freedom from the world was the abolition of clerical marriage. Concerning this he shared the opinion of the reforming party to which he belonged.¹ He thought that married priests could not put the church's welfare first in their lives, for their chief interest must be to provide for their children. It seemed to him that they could not help being entangled in worldly affairs, to the neglect of their religious duties. Of course the experience of the parts of the Christian Church where there has been a married ministry has shown that the fears felt by him and his party were groundless.

REASONS FOR
HILDEBRAND'S
OPPOSITION
TO CLERICAL
MARRIAGE

But in order to understand Hildebrand's views on this subject, we need to remember that to many of the positions held by the clergy there were attached valuable lands. This was especially true in the case of the bishops, as we have said. Many of them ruled large territories, like great nobles or princes. We can see how Hildebrand came to think that men so situated, if they had families, would be too strongly tempted to devote themselves to looking out for them. He feared that thus the

¹ See pp. 95, 96.

ministry of the church would become a hereditary caste, caring principally for its own possessions. It should also be remembered that while clerical marriage was common, it was strictly forbidden by church law, and that in many cases it was a cloak for immorality. Furthermore, much of Hildebrand's whole policy finds explanation in his intense belief that the monk's life is the only true Christian life. Though, strange to say, he was not himself a monk, he was leader of a reforming party composed of monks, and he strove to bring the life of all the clergy of the church into accord with the monkish ideal. One way to accomplish this was to make all the clergy celibates.

Against clerical marriage Hildebrand fought bitterly with every weapon of church law and discipline and of popular agitation. He broke up existing marriages by a cruel persecution. The monks under his command stirred up the people to abhor married priests. Though he did not secure the entire abolition of clerical marriage, he greatly decreased it, and created a strong and lasting feeling in the church against it. From that time the general sentiment of the church condemned it.

We have seen what things Hildebrand thought necessary in order to free the church from the world. We have also seen that he meant to achieve these things by the use of the papal power. For carrying out his policy, it was needful that the Pope should be supreme in the church. His idea was to make the church an absolute monarchy, under the bishop of Rome. All other bishops, all the clergy,

HIS WAR
AGAINST IT

THE POPE TO
BE AN
ABSOLUTE
MONARCH
OVER THE
CHURCH

all monastics, were to be absolutely subject to him. By bold and sweeping assertions of the supremacy of the successor of Peter, backed up by his power of excommunication, he to a great extent succeeded in his purpose. From his time the Pope's will was law for the church far more than it had been before.

b. The Church to Be Supreme Over the World

But so far we have seen only a part of Hildebrand's great dream. He planned not only to free the church from the world, but also when this had been done, to make it supreme over the world. The church, ruled by the Pope, was to be the sovereign power of the world. To it all other powers were to be subject. From the Pope, the church's representative and head, all kings and rulers were to take orders. They were to exercise authority under the Pope's supervision. The Pope was to have the right to depose them and release their subjects from obedience to them if they disobeyed his supreme, divine authority. The world was to be a kind of United States, in which all kingdoms were to be governed according to the sovereign will of the head of the church.

HILDEBRAND'S
IDEA OF THE
PAPACY AS THE
SUPREME
POWER OF THE
WORLD

This is the stupendous Hildebrandine idea of the papacy; the Pope is to be supreme ruler of the church, and as the head of the church he is to be supreme ruler of the world. To comprehend this idea taxes our minds, and it is a mark of Hildebrand's greatness that his mind first conceived it. In the light of the history since his time, we can see that the idea was a colossal mistake. Such

a papacy as he conceived would be destructive to national life, to liberty, and to Christianity. But in order to understand Hildebrand we must try to look at things with his light, not with ours.

We all believe that Christianity ought to rule the world. Now for the men of western Europe in the Middle Ages, to say this was to say that the church ought to rule the world; because for them Christianity and the one church in which they saw Christianity embodied were identical. They did not think of Christianity apart from the church, that is, the church which they knew, the Roman Church. There were a few dissenters who made a distinction between these two¹; but probably Hildebrand, living all his life in ecclesiastical surroundings, had never heard of such an idea as that of Christianity apart from the church. And this was true of practically all men of his time. A man of his age and his training, having a desire to make Christianity supreme over the world, could not help thinking that the only practical way to bring this about was to make the church the supreme authority in the world.

Moreover, for a man of Hildebrand's age and training the supremacy of the church meant the supremacy of the papacy. Unquestionably almost all Christian men in western Europe then regarded the Pope as the divinely appointed head of the church. Therefore, they would have said, if the church was to have authority over the world, that

THOUGHT OF
MIDDLE AGES
ON THIS
SUBJECT

¹ On the dissenters of the Middle Ages, see Ch. X.

authority must be exercised through the Pope. For them, the sovereignty of Christianity over the world would be attained by the sovereign rule of the papacy. These facts about the thought of Hildebrand's time we must keep in mind, if we wish to do justice to him and the men who shared his ideas.

2. Innocent III

INNOCENT III
REALIZED
HILDEBRAND'S
IDEA

Hildebrand's idea of the papacy's supremacy over the world was not so fully realized in his own pontificate as in that of the great Innocent III (1198-1216). Under him the medieval church reached the summit of its power. His clear and strong mind grasped in its fullness the tremendous meaning of the Hildebrandine idea. The overwhelming claims which it implied he did not shrink from. The Pope, he said, "stands in the midst between God and man; . . . less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none." Astute, fearless, inflexible, he really attained in great measure such a power as Hildebrand dreamed of.

INNOCENT AND
THE RULERS
OF EUROPE

Innocent made and unmade emperors, successfully asserting that their crown came to them from the Pope. He forced King Philip of France and King John of England to obey him, the cause of conflict in France being the king's putting away his wife for another woman, and in England a dispute over the archbishopric of Canterbury. The weapon which he used to bring these monarchs to terms was the interdict, which caused the suspension of all religious services in the countries concerned. The churches were closed. The sacra-

ments, which people universally thought the means of salvation, were not administered. The dead lay unburied. Such popular outcry arose in France and England that the kings had to submit. John even surrendered to the Pope his kingdoms of England and Ireland, and received them back as feudal lands. This means that he acknowledged them to be the property of the Pope, which he was allowed to hold, paying yearly tribute as acknowledgment of the Pope's sovereignty. Innocent was recognized as overlord of the kingdom of Sicily, and from him the king of Aragon received his crown. Almost everywhere in Europe he asserted his authority, and almost always with success.

His only noteworthy failure was in England. It was after King John's submission to the Pope that the barons, unable longer to endure his abominable and oppressive reign, compelled him to sign Magna Charta, the charter which is the corner stone of English freedom. Innocent took the side of the king, since John had now become an obedient son of the church. He issued a bull¹ annulling Magna Charta and ordering the barons to submit themselves to their king. They ignored his arrogant demands, however, and only his death about this time saved him from a conspicuous defeat.

Thus under Innocent III the papacy ruled the world of western Europe with almost undisputed sway. Or, we may say, the church ruled the world, through its head, the Pope. Through the thirteenth century the church remained at this

THE PAPACY
OVERTHROWS
THE EMPIRE
AND IS
SUPREME

¹ The decrees of the Popes were called "bulls."

height of power. During this century the papacy finally overthrew its great rival, the Holy Roman Empire. Between Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV and the emperor Frederick II there was a long war of both words and arms. In 1248 it ended in total defeat for Frederick. After his death two years later his little son held a shadowy power for a few years, and then there was no emperor for nineteen years. So the papacy held the field triumphant, and ruled without a rival. At the end of the nineteen years the empire was revived by the election of an emperor; but it never was so strong as before the papal victory.

B. THE CHURCH RULING THE WESTERN WORLD

THE CHURCH'S
CONTROL
OVER LIFE

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the church ruled human life in western Europe. It was an international society, extending into and over all kingdoms. Its government had authority far exceeding that of any civil government. For what the church bound and loosed on earth would surely, men believed, be bound and loosed in heaven; and the church was so widespread and well organized as to reach all men with its sway. On every part of human life the church laid its controlling hand; nothing that men did was untouched. Probably no human organization has ever exercised such power.

1. The Extent of the Church

In A. D. 1200 only a little of Europe was outside Christendom. In eastern and southern Rus-

EUROPE
NOMINALLY
CHRISTIAN
IN THE
THIRTEENTH
CENTURY

sia there were heathen Asiatics. Southern Spain was held by the Moors, and there Mohammedanism ruled. The inhabitants of the eastern and southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea were still heathen. In the thirteenth century they were forced by long and bloody wars, during which some real missionary work was done, to accept Christianity.

Thus in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity was the religion of almost all of Europe. By this is meant that church organization covered most of the continent, that knowledge of Christianity was possible for almost all of its inhabitants, and that Christianity was the official religion of all kingdoms, except the Moorish. In this nominally Christian continent Russia and Greece and most of the Balkan peninsula¹ belonged to the Eastern Church. The rest of Europe belonged to the Western, or Roman Church. Thus this great international organization included the nations which were to have most influence in the world for many centuries.

2. The Church's War Against Islam—The Crusades

In this time of its largest power the Western Church made a great and long-continued effort to increase its territory by capturing from the Moslems the Holy Land. This was in the Crusades, the series of wars which Western Christendom waged against the Moslem power in the East during two hundred years (1096-1291). This great movement of West against East was vastly influential in re-

¹ The Eastern Empire held Constantinople until 1453.

ligion, politics, commerce and intellectual life. Its story is full of wonderful scenes and fascinating personalities. No part of history contains more romance and color. We do not by any means sum up the whole truth about the Crusades when we say that they were a great attempt of the church to enlarge its territory; yet this is part of the truth. This is not to say that the church caused the Crusades. As is true of all great movements, they were brought about by causes that had been working for many years.

CAUSES OF THE
CRUSADES;
(1) CUSTOM
OF PILGRIMAGE
TO PALESTINE

One of these was the custom, long prevalent, of going on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Thousands had made the toilsome journey to Palestine, and visited and prayed at the places associated with our Lord's life, above all at the holy sepulcher. Of all the things that men could do to win favor in the sight of God and earn his forgiveness, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was accounted the most efficacious. The palmers, as returned pilgrims were called, from the palm leaves which they brought back, were everywhere venerated as holy men, all the rest of their lives. Wherever they went they were known by their distinctive dress and were regarded as entitled to receive hospitality from all Christians. Pilgrims went sometimes alone, sometimes in companies, often of large numbers. Rich and poor, noble and serf, priest and layman, went on pilgrimage. This old and general custom led naturally to the Crusades, which, in one way of looking at them, were great organized pilgrimages.

The dangerous advance of Islam was another cause. How far the Arabs conquered and extended their religion we saw in Chapter V. After the eighth century their fighting spirit subsided, and they and their religion made no important forward movement. But in the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks, a barbarous, warlike people from central Asia, took from the Arabs the control of the Moslem Empire. They brought to Islam a new aggressiveness. They conquered a great part of Asia Minor, and threatened Constantinople. Whereas the Arabs had become on the whole rather tolerant toward Christians, the Turks hated Christianity fiercely, and showed this by cruelty to pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their coming caused Christian Europe to feel that it must unite to put down Christianity's great enemy, and especially to rescue the holy sepulcher from the hands of unbelievers.

A third cause was the love of fighting and warlike adventure which was so strong in that age, particularly in the upper classes of society. The life most honored among them was that of the true knight, the life of warfare in defense of the weak and in behalf of right and Christianity. While many of these men were far enough from true knights in personal character, still they sincerely regarded the knight as the ideal man. Now the Crusades, wars against unbelievers for the possession of the Holy Land, offered an enterprise perfectly satisfying this spirit of chivalry. Here was opportunity to fight, and to fight for what were thought the noblest objects.

(2) ADVANCE
OF ISLAM: THE
TURKS

(3) LOVE OF
FIGHTING AND
KNIGHTLY
ENTERPRISE

(4) RELIGIOUS
REVIVAL

But probably the greatest factor in producing the Crusades was the growing religious enthusiasm of the times. We have seen that there was a revival of religion in western Europe in the eleventh century. This stronger religious spirit made men desire to do something for the spread of Christianity; and this they could do by fighting the unbelievers. It made them also feel a keener interest in the salvation of their own souls; and the thing counting most for salvation, they thought, was to go to the Holy Land, as soldiers of the cross. Not only the humble and the ignorant were ruled by such desires and thoughts, but also the noble and rich and powerful, the men who controlled the affairs of the world.

THE CALL FOR
THE FIRST
CRUSADE

These forces were working in the life of western Europe in the eleventh century, making its people ready to enter upon the Crusades. Then the call of the church, through the Popes, gave the final impulse and set the forces of Christendom in motion. The First Crusade was proclaimed in 1095 by Pope Urban II. The Eastern emperor Alexius, hard pressed by the Turks, had appealed to the Pope for help. At a church council at Clermont, in France, where a great throng was assembled, Urban in a fiery speech pleaded for the rescue of the holy sepulcher from the disgrace of possession by unbelievers. The multitude was swept away with wild enthusiasm. At once many "took the cross," fastening upon themselves cloth crosses in token of their vow to join the crusade. The Pope's appeal was carried through France and the Rhine Valley

by wandering preachers, chief among whom was Peter the Hermit. Wherever they went, their words roused the people as at Clermont.

The next year the Crusaders started. Several great bands of poor men, really fanatical mobs, set out for the Holy Land. Naturally these expeditions came to nothing. Two of them, one led by Peter, went through Constantinople into Asia Minor, and were destroyed by the Turks at Nicea. But three strong armies of knights, led by great nobles, marched across Asia Minor and after a fearful battle captured Jerusalem. They set up what is called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose first king was Count Baldwin of Flanders. Thus the holy sepulcher was in Christian hands, and Palestine was again a part of Christendom.

After this Crusade seven others were made. They were occasioned by victories of the Moslems, and after 1187 by the fact that Jerusalem was again in their hands. The earlier Crusades were started by the calls of Popes. Thus the church held the leadership of this great movement of united Christian Europe. But later the leadership passed into the hands of the kings. The religious enthusiasm without which the Crusades could never have taken place diminished somewhat with the passage of years. Motives of conquest and wealth grew more prominent.

But it was in the second century of the Crusades that the religious feeling connected with them found perhaps its most wonderful expression. This was in the pathetic Children's Crusade (1212). The preaching of two boys roused thousands of boys

THE FIRST
CRUSADE

LATER
CRUSADES

CHILDREN'S
CRUSADE

and girls of France and the Rhine Valley to go to rescue the holy sepulcher. They left their homes and started for Palestine, believing that with God's help they would succeed where men had failed. A multitude of them actually took ships at Marseilles for the Holy Land. But the shipmasters were slave-traders, and sold the boys and girls into servitude and shame. This story, almost incredible to us, shows what a state of religious excitement the idea of going on crusade produced in Europe.

RESULTS OF
THE CRUSADES

The Crusades failed of their great object. At the end of the two centuries Jerusalem remained, as until 1919, in Moslem possession. The greatest attempt ever made to extend Christendom by force came to nothing. Yet the Crusades had very important results, among which we can consider only those that had to do directly with Christianity. Resulting from religious feeling, they in turn strengthened its hold. The tremendous power which religious motives exercised in western Europe at the height of the Middle Ages came in part from this great expression of religious enthusiasm, in which all its nations united. The Crusades also strengthened the authority of the papacy; for they gave the Popes the opportunity of taking the lead in an undertaking which made the strongest possible popular appeal. One reason why Innocent III came nearer realizing Hildebrand's ideal for the papacy than Hildebrand himself did, was that between them there came more than a century of crusading, greatly increasing the papal power. The Crusades also increased intolerance. Fighting against unbelievers abroad made

men more ready to use force against those nearer home who did not submit to the church's teaching. After a century of Crusades came the terrible war against the Albigensian heretics of southeastern France,¹ and the establishment of the Inquisition.²

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What is Hildebrand's place in the history of the papacy?
2. What were the great features of his policy?
3. Explain these parts of his plan for freeing the church from the world;
 - a. The election of the Pope by the cardinals.
 - b. The abolition of lay investiture.
 - c. The abolition of clerical marriage.
4. Describe his conflict with Henry IV. What were its results?
5. What did Hildebrand do for the power of the Pope in the church?
6. What was Hildebrand's idea of the position of the Pope in the world?
7. What does this idea mean, when interpreted in the light of the thoughts of that time?
8. Describe the power of the papacy under Innocent III.
9. Describe the final conflict between the church and the empire.
10. How great was the power of the church over human life in western Europe?
11. How far was Europe Christian in A. D. 1200? What was the extent of the Western or Roman Church at this time? Why were the nations included in it especially important?
12. What were the Crusades?
13. Explain these causes of the Crusades;

¹ See pp. 133, 164, 165.

² See pp. 132, 133.

- a. The custom of pilgrimage to Palestine.
 - b. The advance of Islam.
 - c. The spirit of chivalry.
 - d. The religious revival of the eleventh century.
14. Describe the First Crusade.
 15. What were the results of the Crusades?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," chs. XV, XXI-XXV, XXXII, XXXIII.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period IV, sections x-xii, xiv; Period V, sections i, ix, x.

Thorndike: "History of Medieval Europe," ch. XVI, on the Crusades, ch. XXIII, on the church under Innocent III.

G. B. Adams: "Civilization in Medieval Europe," ch. XI, on the Crusades.

A. H. Mathews: "Life and Times of Hildebrand."

J. T. McNeill: "Makers of Christianity from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher," biographies of Hildebrand and Innocent III.

Thatcher-McNeal: "Source Book for Medieval History." contains many important original documents; pp. 132-259, on the papacy; pp. 513-544, on the Crusades.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: II

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH (Continued)

B. THE CHURCH RULING THE WESTERN WORLD (Continued)

3. The Wealth of the Church

In order to understand the overwhelming power of the Roman Church in the Middle Ages, we need to realize not only its extent in territory, but also the greatness of its possessions. Its wealth consisted of lands, buildings used for religious purposes, with their furniture and ornaments, which often were very costly, and other buildings. Much of the church's land had come to it by gift from devout persons. Much also was held on feudal tenure¹ by bishops and monasteries. There were also the Papal States, a large region in central Italy of which the Pope was sovereign.² In one way and another the church held a large part of the land of western Europe. Probably it would not be far out of the way to say that in France, Germany and England it held a quarter of the land. In Italy and Spain it had more.

PROPERTY OF
THE CHURCH

¹ This means that kings had granted to bishops and monasteries lands which they were allowed to hold and enjoy, on condition of supplying the king with a certain number of soldiers in war and paying him a certain portion of the proceeds of the lands.

² See p. 80.

ITS INCOME

A vast income flowed to the church from these lands, from the tithes, which were church taxes paid by all persons, from fees for religious services, and from the sale of indulgences.¹ The Pope had an income of his own, from the Papal States, from Peter's pence, a contribution made by the faithful everywhere, from taxes on the clergy, from payments of bishops in connection with their obtaining office, and from fees of many kinds.

Thus this great international church was the richest power in Europe, far surpassing any government in financial resources. Even if men had not believed in its divine authority, it would have had tremendous influence by reason of its wealth.

CHARITABLE
USE OF
WEALTH

It ought to be remembered, however, that the church maintained extensive charities. In our time a vast amount of charitable work is done by governments and by private organizations and institutions not connected with churches. In the Middle Ages there was very little of this. Practically all that was done for the relief of need was done by the church. While no doubt much of the wealth of the church was used selfishly, large sums were spent for the sick and the poor.

*4. The Organization of the Church*THE POPE'S
POWERS

The Pope was the monarch of the church, and nearly an absolute monarch. All bishops exercised their authority in obedience to him. Furthermore the Popes constantly asserted an immediate authority, going over the heads of bishops and directly

¹ See p. 130

ruling affairs in their dioceses. While bishops were nominally elected, from the time of Innocent III the Popes more and more controlled the choice of them. Most of the hundreds of thousands of monks were under the direct control of the Pope, which gave him enormous power. Papal decrees were accepted as practically equal in authority to decisions of church councils. With the Pope was the last appeal in all cases arising in the church courts. From the civil courts also many cases were appealed to him.

Under the Pope were the archbishops, ruling "provinces" composed of several dioceses. Then came the bishops, each governing his diocese. The bishop had general charge of church affairs in his diocese. He had the oversight of its clergy, looked after charities, and supervised schools. He held court for the trial of cases under church law. He only could give confirmation and ordination. Because of their great holdings in land, many archbishops and bishops were powerful temporal as well as spiritual rulers. Their wealth enabled them to live in princely state, and they could put armies in the field.

POWERS AND
DUTIES OF THE
BISHOPS

The person through whom the common people came into immediate contact with the church was, of course, the parish priest. The medieval priest had a power never seen in the modern world. Because in his keeping were the sacraments, which were believed to be necessary for salvation, he wielded a dread authority. Through the confessional he held the conduct of his people under his

POWERS AND
DUTIES OF
PARISH
PRIESTS

inspection. He gave the boys and girls religious instruction, and sometimes elementary general education. Since schools were few, what he gave was all the education that many of the poor received. He dispensed charity out of the alms box of the church. The priest was minister, school-teacher, police force, judge in small cases, and superintendent of the poor, all in one. Not all priests performed all these duties, for among them were much laziness, ignorance and immorality. But tremendous power belonged to the priest's office, and we must realize this in order to understand the church's control over human life in the Middle Ages.

MONASTICS

Besides this ordinary organization which we have been describing, the church had at its service another very powerful kind of organization, in the monastic orders. In the story of the Cluniac reform movement we have seen how influential monasticism was in the church. After a while this movement spent its force, and monastic life began to fall away again from its ideals. The needed reform and revival came in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Several new orders of monks were founded, and many new monasteries were established. Chief among these new orders was the Cistercian, to which belonged many monasteries now famous, though in ruins, such as Fountains Abbey in England. The leader of the Cistercians, and the inspirer of much of this revival of enthusiasm for monastic life, was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, one of the best and great-

MONASTIC
REVIVALTHE
CISTERCIANS

est men of the Middle Ages.¹ Within forty years five hundred abbeys of his order were established, and into them went thousands of men, many of them the best men of their time. In the Cistercian abbeys, under the influence of the saintly Bernard, monastic life appeared once more reformed and made more worthy of its old ideals. This is true also of other orders founded at this time.

Originally every monastery acknowledged the authority of the bishop of the diocese in which it was situated. But the Popes encroached upon the bishops in this as in other respects, and more and more took monasteries under their own control. Then came the Cistercians, who from the first were governed immediately by the Pope. Their example strengthened the tendency toward papal control of other monastics. In the end most of the monks obeyed the Pope only. Monasticism and the papacy, the two principal institutions of the medieval church, were closely bound together. Throughout Europe were scattered thousands of monasteries, many of them possessing rich landed properties, filled with men who owned no master but the Pope. Here was a chief bulwark of the papal power.

MONASTICISM
AND THE
PAPACY

Western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a much more civilized and orderly world than it was in the earlier ages of monasticism. Hence there was less need for some of the kinds of service which had been given by the monasteries. Still they continued to be very useful to the world. We cannot be too grateful to

SERVICE OF
THE MONKS

¹ See pp. 141-144.

the monks for their work for literature and learning in making many copies of books and preserving them in their libraries. The monasteries gave other services, touching more nearly the life of the common people. Their schools provided free education. When the universities arose (about 1200), higher learning mostly left the monks' cloisters and sought a home in these new institutions; but the monastery schools still gave the best that there was in education below the university level. Their hospitals cared for the sick and for poor travelers. Their almsgiving was often generous. In plague and famine, horrors familiar to the Middle Ages, the stricken and the famished found more help in the monks' houses than anywhere else.

MONASTIC
CORRUPTION

Doubtless there was much corruption in medieval monastic life, in spite of all reforms. The testimony of monks and nuns of that time leaves no room for doubt about this. Yet, as Principal Workman says, "It is incontestable that until the end of the fourteenth century the monks as a body were far better than their age." In the time which we are now studying, the worst fault of the monastic orders was not personal immorality, but selfishness, resulting from wealth. Though reformers constantly fought against it, most monasteries acquired property, and many of them great property. It came by gift, and by the labor of the monks. Growing wealth caused the monks to care more for the possessions of their houses and the comforts thus procured than for service to others or the cultivation of their own spiritual lives.

Of the great Franciscan and Dominican orders, which may be called monastic, but which differed much from the earlier orders, we shall speak in the next chapter.

5. The Discipline and Law of the Church

Discipline was the church's chief method of giving moral training to its people. In modern Protestant churches this is given by Christian teaching, in sermons, Sunday school, and private conversation, and by personal influence. But the medieval church gave it by its discipline. As we saw in Chapter IV, this was introduced on a large scale when a great mass of barbarians was thrown in upon the church, who had to be schooled into civilized and Christian living. Through the Middle Ages discipline had been developed until in the time we are now considering it had become an elaborate system.

All persons were required to confess to a priest at least once a year.¹ Those who confessed had to do penance according to the degree of their sins. Penance consisted of acts involving sacrifice—for example, fastings, scourgings, pilgrimages—the performance of which was accepted as proof of true sorrow for sin. Books prescribing in great detail the penances proper to various kinds of sins were much used by the priests. The idea of the penitential system was that men would be kept

CONFESSION,
PENANCE AND
ABSOLUTION

¹The Lateran Council of 1215, in the reign of Innocent III, made annual confession obligatory upon those who had reached years of discretion. Thus what the church had long been requiring became formally part of its law.

from wrongdoing by the knowledge that it would bring upon them heavy tasks to obtain absolution. When the penance had been done, the priest pronounced absolution. In the early Middle Ages this was generally considered a declaration that God had forgiven the sinner. Later the idea prevailed that the church, through its priests, could not merely declare but actually give forgiveness. The church, it was thought, had the divine forgiveness to bestow upon men. Thus the priest's absolution was a real release from sin.

PURGATORY
AND
INDULGENCES

By confession, penance and absolution, it was taught, the guilt of sin was removed, and with the guilt the eternal punishment due to sin. But there still remained what were called the temporal consequences of sin, the chief part of which were the pains of purgatory. This was a state of purifying punishment through which the sinner must pass before entering final blessedness. The church taught that it had power to shorten these pains for those who while still on earth satisfied its requirements. Such a lightening of purgatory was called an indulgence. Indulgences could be obtained by the doing of acts like those required for penance. In the late Middle Ages they were sold for money, and it was taught that people could obtain indulgences not only for themselves but also for those who had died.

We find it hard to understand this system of discipline. For we know that every human being can go straight to God and speak to him and obtain his forgiveness, and that therefore no priest

is needed to stand between men and God. We know also that great errors and evils arose from this cumbersome machinery. We need to remember that the whole thing was the church's way of training and curbing the strong, lawless human nature with which it had to deal in the heathen or half-heathen peoples of western Europe.

On those who would not submit to its discipline the church inflicted punishments. There were lesser penalties, such as suspension from church privileges and fines. For great offenses the penalty was excommunication. This was expulsion from the church, with deprivation of its ministries. For the medieval man this was a dreadful fate. The faithful children of the church were forbidden to hold intercourse of any sort with an excommunicated person, and since practically everyone was in the church, he was avoided by nearly all men. In some countries he lost his legal rights and was deemed an outlaw. Thus the excommunicate was virtually cast out of human society. And since to lack the sacraments of the church and to die outside its communion meant loss of salvation, he was regarded as doomed to eternal punishment. The fear of excommunication gave power to the church in all its dealings with men. Even great kings quailed before this terrible weapon.

TREATMENT OF
THE
REFRACTORY;
EXCOM-
MUNICATION

The church's control over human life was exercised not only by its discipline, but also by its law, administered by its own courts.¹ In the

CHURCH LAW
AND COURTS

¹ Properly speaking, the system of penance was part of the structure of church law.

Middle Ages all men were under both civil law, that of the countries where they lived, and church or canon law. We have called the church a great international government. Like all governments, it had its law, which consisted of the decisions of councils and Popes. It had its own courts, those of bishops and archbishops and the Pope. Certain kinds of cases, such as those involving wills, always went to the church courts. Cases involving the clergy also went to them, so that the clergy were not subject to the law of the land where they lived. Besides, cases of almost all kinds could be brought before the church courts on some ground or other. This was so much done that they became as powerful as the civil courts.

THE
INQUISITION

A very important part of the legal machinery of the church, and one of its chief means of control over life, was the Inquisition. This was the church's organization for running down and punishing heresy, or dissent from its teachings. In the eleventh, and still more in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, dissent became widespread. The twelfth century saw two strong, organized bodies of dissenters, the Cathari and the Waldenses.¹ A few men like Bernard and Dominic thought that heresy should be dealt with by teaching and persuasion, not by force. But in general the church thought of no policy but repression. Heresy was rebellion, and must be crushed.

First the war against it was intrusted to the bishops; but dissent kept on growing. Then came

¹ On medieval dissenters, see pp. 163-166.

Innocent III, who hated this rebellion against the church with all his heart. His spirit was shown by his instigation of the bloodthirsty crusade against the Albigenses, heretics of Provence, which lasted more than twenty years and caused the death of thousands. Innocent felt that there was need for a centralized organization, covering the whole church, devoted to the suppression of heresy. Under him and his successors, in the first half of the thirteenth century, there was developed the papal Inquisition. About the same time the civil power supplied conditions favorable to its work, for several governments made severe laws against heresy. In 1224 the emperor Frederick II made it punishable by death. The Inquisition was a combination of a police force and a judicial system. It worked everywhere, vigilantly, secretly, patiently, remorselessly. It allowed the accused in its tribunals no means of defense against charges, and it almost never gave acquittal. It regularly used horrible tortures to extort confessions. It had the help of the civil power in hunting heretics and inflicting death sentences.

In this policy of crushing heresy the church had the support of general opinion. To the medieval man heresy was the worst of crimes. For it was breaking the unity of the church, and he regarded an attack on the church as an attack upon the Christian faith. In his mind the faith and the organization which embodied it were one and the same, so that rebellion against one was rebellion against the other. Moreover, since Chris-

MEDIEVAL
FEELING
AGAINST
HERESY

tianity was considered the foundation of civilized society, the medieval man regarded heretics, who disobeyed the Christian Church, just as most men nowadays regard anarchists. The men of the Middle Ages had no idea of freedom of thought and conscience. This idea Christians were very slow to learn, and have not even yet altogether learned.

6. *The Worship of the Church*

THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

In the worship which the medieval church provided for its people, by far the largest element was the administration of the sacraments, especially of the mass. The sacraments were seven: baptism, confirmation, penance, the communion or mass, marriage, ordination and extreme unction. These were thought to be in themselves means of salvation. They were not merely symbols teaching religious truths, or ordinances giving help to those who had Christian faith; the mere acts had a positive saving power. They did their saving work independently of the spiritual condition, the faith or lack of faith, of those who received them. To receive baptism was to be regenerated; to partake of the communion was to receive the life of Christ. But the sacraments were means of salvation only when given by a duly ordained priest of the church.

THE MASS

The central feature of worship was the greatest of the sacraments, the mass. This was celebrated, in the case of high mass, with much splendor. By imposing ceremonies, striking vestments, and solemn music, seen and heard in great, beautiful churches, a powerful impression was made on the

spirit through the senses. In the thirteenth century, after it had long been believed that the bread and wine of the sacrament were miraculously changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, the church adopted as one of its dogmas an explanation of this belief in the teaching of transubstantiation. So the sacrament was an actual repetition of the sacrifice of Calvary. Every time it was celebrated, Christ's body was broken and his blood was shed for the sins of men. To receive the sacrament was to share in the benefits of this sacrifice, and to take into one's body the flesh and blood of Christ, bringing eternal life.¹

Because the sacraments were so highly regarded, preaching was thought of much less importance. Little of it was done by parish priests, and in fact most of them were too ignorant to preach. When the Franciscan and Dominican friars came, they devoted themselves largely to this neglected work of the priesthood.

PREACHING

Worship was conducted strictly according to the church's prescribed orders and forms of words. The ritual everywhere was in Latin, and therefore very few of the people understood what they heard in church.

In earlier chapters we saw elements of pagan superstition taking large place in Christian worship. These remained and even increased during all of the Middle Ages. Saint worship, in all the

SAINT
WORSHIP

¹ To the laity the bread only was given, for fear of spilling the wine. It was held that since the blood was contained in the flesh, the bread alone was sufficient.

forms described in Chapter VI,¹ made a large part of popular religion. Patron saints without number were constantly invoked for special mercies. Adoration of relics and belief in their miraculous powers flourished, encouraged by the church. Countless stories about the wonders wrought by them were unquestioningly received; for example, a merchant of Gröningen stole the arm of John the Baptist from its place and kept it in his house, and when a great fire destroyed the town only this house escaped. Pilgrimages to saints' shrines were a conspicuous feature of medieval life. Thousands went on them, to work out penances, to earn indulgences, or to get healing of sickness. At the famous shrines, such as that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, great wealth piled up through the offerings of the pilgrims, which was spent in costly decorations of precious metals and jewels.

MARIOLATRY

The worship of the Virgin made another large part of popular religion. In the teaching of the church there was never any tendency to ascribe divinity to the mother of our Lord; but she received a great share of the worship of the people. They thought of her, the woman and the mother, as being compassionate and gracious. Such elements of character were not much to be found in God and the Son of God, as the church presented them. God was put before the people chiefly as creator and ruler; Jesus chiefly as judge. So they felt that they were surest of obtaining

¹ See p. 92.

sympathy and help when their prayers were addressed to the Virgin. They sought her intercession for their needs, made her the protectress of many of their undertakings, built costly shrines and churches in her honor, and magnified her festivals.

In any account of medieval religion something must be said about the great church buildings of the period. The cathedrals and abbey churches which modern travelers go far to see, and many of the parish churches as well, form a most significant expression of medieval religious feeling. By their number and size and beauty and costliness they show how large a part in life was played by religion, and the church representing it. The chief buildings of the Middle Ages were not for governmental or business but religious purposes. The churches are important, also, as being the greatest works of medieval art. Since architecture was the principal art of the Middle Ages, and since religion was so dominant a concern of men, naturally their artistic powers were largely employed in building churches.

CHURCH
BUILDINGS

The religious revival of the eleventh century showed itself in much church-building. "The earth awoke from its slumbers and put on a white robe of churches." During the next four centuries this continued, until throughout western Europe there were hundreds of the grandest buildings ever erected for religious purposes. In this work kings, nobles, cities, bishops, monks and the people all shared. The people often showed the greatest generosity and devotion. In the eleventh

century and much of the twelfth the prevailing style of architecture was the Norman, marked by the round arch, of which Durham Cathedral is a famous example. In the latter part of the twelfth century there came in the Gothic style, the mark of which is the pointed arch. This very soon became universal in western Europe, and it is the characteristic medieval style. No other form of architecture is so congenial to worship. It is impossible to enter a great Gothic church without being moved to reverence and serious thought, and without feeling that it is a monument of a time when religion had tremendous power over men.

7. The Church's Place in Religion

THE CHURCH
A MEDIATOR
BETWEEN GOD
AND MEN

From what has been said in this chapter, it must now be clear that in the religion of the people of the Middle Ages the church was all important. Men were taught, and believed, that the church stood between God and them as a mediator. It brought to men the saving grace of God in its sacraments. It spoke to them the commands of God through its discipline. It gave them true knowledge concerning God in its teachings. Through its machinery of intercessors it presented to God men's needs. All who fulfilled its requirements it undertook to set right with God and to lead to salvation. By the ministries of the church God and men were brought together. Only thus did God's gift of eternal life come to men.

POWERS
OF THE
PRIESTHOOD

The church held this place by virtue of the divinely given authority which was believed to

belong to its priesthood. When Protestants speak of the Church, they mean the community of Christian people. To them laymen are members of the Church just as much as clergymen are. Clergymen have a special kind of service to give in the Church, but no special spiritual privileges or powers. All members of the Church, clergy and laity alike, stand before God on exactly the same footing. But when medieval men spoke of the Church, they meant primarily the priesthood. The priests had mysterious and awful powers, received from Christ through ordination, by which they could mediate between God and men. God's spiritual gifts came to men and men drew near to God through the priests, and only through them. In their hands were the powers of life and death, of heaven and hell. To be out of communion with them was to be separated from God and doomed to everlasting woe.

For the people of western Europe in the Middle Ages, Christianity was altogether bound up with the church, that is with the great organization ruled over by the Pope. Only a comparatively few dissenters¹ thought of such a thing as being a Christian apart from this church. For the mass of men, to be a Christian was to obey the Roman Church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the property and income of the church.
2. How was this wealth used?
3. What were the powers of the Pope?
4. Describe the office of bishop.

¹ See Chapter X.

5. Describe the medieval parish priest.
6. What was the relation of the monks and the Pope?
7. What services did the monks render in this period?
8. What was the moral condition of the monasteries?
9. Explain these features of the church's discipline;
 - a. Penance.
 - b. Indulgences.
 - c. Excommunication.
10. Describe the law and courts of the church.
11. What was the Inquisition?
12. What was the general medieval feeling regarding heresy?
13. Describe the worship of the medieval church.
14. What were the seven sacraments? What idea was held regarding their power?
15. What is the doctrine of transubstantiation? What was the mass believed to be?
16. Describe saint worship in this period.
17. What was the reason for the worship of the Virgin?
18. What place did the church hold in the religion of the people? What gave it this place?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," chs. XXVII, XXX.

Schaff: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. V, Part I, ch. XV, on the organization and law of the church, and the clergy; ch. X, on the Inquisition; ch. XIV, on the sacraments, penance, indulgence; ch. XVI, on the worship of saints and the Virgin.

Workman: "Evolution of the Monastic Ideal," ch. V.

Coulton: "Five Centuries of Religion," Vol. I, chs. XIX-XXI; Vol. II, chs. I-VI, on monasticism.

Lea: "The Inquisition of the Middle Ages," especially Vol. I, chs. VII-XIV.

T. M. Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, Book II, ch. II, on penance and indulgences.

Thorndike: "History of Medieval Europe," ch. XXII, on architecture.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH AT THE HEIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES: III

(A. D. 1073-1294)

I. THE WESTERN CHURCH (Continued)

B. THE CHURCH RULING THE WESTERN WORLD (Continued)

8. Christian Life Under the Church's Rule

We now want to see what sort of character and conduct were produced by the great religious system at which we have been looking. Here two different things are to be noted. One is the Christianity of some wonderful men and women whom the whole Christian Church to-day honors. Another is the Christianity of the common people.

As examples of medieval Christianity at its best let us take Bernard of Clairvaux, Dominic and Francis of Assisi. Bernard (1090-1153) came of a noble family of Burgundy. His father was one of the men in whom the spirit of chivalry found its best expression—a brave man and a friend of the poor and helpless—and his mother was a saintly character. In their home, an abode of faith and goodness, all their children grew up devoted to God. Bernard was too weak in body for a knight's life, and even in his family he was of unusual religious earnestness. It was natural,

CHRISTIANITY
OF RELIGIOUS
LEADERS;
(1) BERNARD

in his time, that he should become a monk. This he did when he was twenty-two. Even so early he showed some of the qualities that were to make his life memorable. He took with him into the monastery all his brothers and thirty other men; for the power of his nature and of his enthusiasm for the monk's life was irresistible. He proved the genuineness of his consecration by entering, not one of the monasteries of comfortable life, but that of Citeaux, where the rule was the most strict and the monks endured the severest self-denials—"only one meal a day, never meat or fish or eggs, short spells of sleep, midnight devotions, and hard toil in the fields." But even this way of life did not require self-sacrifice enough for Bernard's enthusiasm. He put on himself further austerities which permanently impaired his health.

BERNARD
FOUNDING
CLAIRVAUX

Two years later he was sent out at the head of a little colony of monks to found another monastery. In a desolate, forbidding valley of eastern France they built a sort of rude barn, out of which was to grow the famous abbey of Clairvaux. Attracted by Bernard's presence, many men came to be monks of Clairvaux, of whom not a few were of high station. His abbey prospered greatly in every way. Many who did not become monks resorted to Clairvaux for short stays, for the sake of being near Bernard. Over his monks and all those with whom he came in contact he exercised a marvelous influence, through personal relations and through his daily preaching in the abbey church. The secret of it can be

HIS INFLUENCE
OVER HIS
MONKS

briefly told by saying that he had a great love for men, and a great love for God. He had "intense sympathy with human need," as we can read in his letters, many of which have been preserved. And he had ardent devotion to God and to Christ in whom he saw the love of God. This spirit we can feel in some of his hymns which we sing, "O sacred head, now wounded" and "Jesus, the very thought of thee."

Bernard's influence went out far beyond Clairvaux. His great services to monasticism we saw in our last chapter. But his power was not confined by monastery walls. It is literally true that in the first half of the twelfth century this semi-invalid monk, never holding any office but that of abbot of Clairvaux, without wealth or armed force, was the most influential man of Europe. This was due solely to the saintliness and the force of his character. His advice was asked by all kinds of people, the highest and the humblest, about all kinds of matters, great and small; and his counsel almost always prevailed. In bold, outspoken letters he reproved the Popes and the king of France for neglect of the duties of their stations. When Europe was in confusion because of a dispute as to which of two men was rightful Pope, his decision was sought by the king and prelates of France, and was accepted everywhere. When Pope Eugenius IV proclaimed the Second Crusade, he threw upon Bernard the task of rousing men to undertake it. In France and in Germany his preaching stirred unbounded enthusiasm for

HIS INFLUENCE
IN EUROPE

the holy war. The emperor had decided to stay at home, but when he heard Bernard preach he, too, took the cross. So he was the spiritual ruler of Christendom; and yet all his life he remained humble and unselfish.

(2) DOMINIC Not long after Bernard's death was born the great Spaniard who is called Dominic (1170-1221). He had a long university training, and then became a priest; but his real life work was rather slow in coming to him. When he was past thirty he traveled through southeastern France, and there saw the effect of the so-called Albigensian heresy,¹ a medley of truth and error, which had caused a widespread desertion of the church. He saw also the beginning of the terrible war by which the Popes stamped out the heresy. It all gave to him the idea that what the times needed was the preaching of Christian truth. Thus, he saw, heresy ought to be put down. At length he conceived the plan of forming a company of trained preachers, who should travel about and teach the people. When he was forty-five he got from Innocent III approval of his plan, and at once began to form his order. His project met with enthusiastic response from the young men of his time, showing that he had seen what the age needed.

HIS PLAN FOR
HIS ORDER

GROWTH OF
THE ORDER

The order grew by leaps and bounds. Within four years from the beginning of active work, about twenty houses of the Dominican friars² were established in several European countries, and

¹ See pp. 121, 133.

² "Friar" is derived from the Latin *frater*, brother.

the work of the friars spread widely. Burning with zeal, Dominic traveled extensively, preaching and getting recruits. Since his plan called for trained preachers, he tried particularly to interest university students, and he won many for his order. He desired to go as a missionary to the heathen Tartars of southern Russia. But worn out by excessive toil, he died only four years after he sent out the first of his friars, leaving his order numerous, widespread and solidly organized. Dominic had not the wonderful magnetism of his contemporary, Francis of Assisi; but by his wisdom, force, enthusiasm and genius for organization he created one of the great religious powers of the Middle Ages.

Of the religious leaders of the Middle Ages, Francis of Assisi is to-day the most honored and loved by the whole Christian Church. Christians of all names feel themselves inspired by the life of this man who so faithfully followed Jesus. Francis (1182-1226) was the son of a well-to-do merchant of Assisi, in central Italy. In the midst of a careless and dissipated youth a severe illness sobered him and turned his thoughts to God. His religious awakening at once showed itself in loving service of his fellow men. Extravagant before for his own pleasure, he now was extravagantly generous in his gifts to the poor. He devoted himself especially to the most neglected and miserable people of the Middle Ages, the lepers, giving them personal care and friendship. He also restored some ruined chapels, seeking thus

(3) FRANCIS
OF ASSISI

to express his desire to serve God. He had not yet found the work that God had for him. His father, angered by his prodigal gifts, tried to restrain him as a madman. Therefore Francis renounced his claim to his father's property, and went out into the world a poor man.

HIS CALL TO
SERVICE

Soon after, at mass in a chapel near Assisi he heard the priest read that portion of the tenth chapter of Matthew which describes Jesus' sending forth his disciples to preach. This came to him as a direct call of Jesus, and he straightway obeyed. Though a layman, he went into the town and preached. Then, and all his life, he preached with great effect, teaching the simplest, most practical Christianity with a power given by his devotion to Jesus and his own winning personality.

FORMATION
OF THE
BROTHERHOOD

Very soon two men of Assisi became his companions. This led him to think of a brotherhood of men who should live as he was living, in service to their fellow men in the name of Jesus, and in poverty. A few other disciples came, and the brotherhood was formed. In this first year (1209 or 1210) Francis and his followers carried on a preaching mission in the country regions of Umbria. The company kept increasing, most of its members being young men from Assisi and its neighborhood. Unlike the Dominicans, these early Franciscans were largely without education. After this first service of the brotherhood, Francis went to Rome with some of his followers, and obtained from Innocent III a partial approval of his purpose for their life.

The use of the chapel where Francis had heard his call to service was given to him, and he made it the headquarters of the brotherhood. Rude shelters were built around it for the brothers. But they were seldom there, for their time was spent in serving the people in accordance with the commands and example of Jesus. They preached in the fields when the workers were resting, and in the market places of towns, and wherever they could get opportunity. They ministered to need of all kinds as they could, especially to lepers. Money to give they had none, for poverty was an essential part of their life, but they gave personal service and care. Their mission was not, like that of the Dominicans, one of preaching only, but one of general ministry to all the needs of men, of which the preaching of the gospel formed a part. They supported themselves by working when they could. When this failed they resorted to begging. Hence both they and the Dominicans, who early adopted the Franciscan policy of poverty, were sometimes called the Mendicant (begging) Orders.

A striking characteristic of these first Franciscans was their joyfulness, which was inspired in them by Francis. To him and to those of his followers who received his spirit, a life of service to men and of poverty for Jesus' sake was no burden or sacrifice, but a great happiness. The early Franciscan movement was permeated by the spirit of Francis—his devotion and obedience to Jesus, his love for men, his unworldliness, his joy. Never has there been an endeavor to follow Jesus that

showed more faith in him and more readiness to do his bidding than that made by Francis and these first Franciscans.

GROWTH OF
THE
FRANCISCANS;
MISSIONS

The brotherhood grew very rapidly, in Italy and beyond. When the second annual general chapter was held, in 1217, there were Franciscan friars in Germany, Hungary and Spain, and missions to non-Christian lands had been begun. To Cardinal Ugolini, finding fault with him for sending his brethren to distant and dangerous places, Francis replied: "Do you think that God has raised up the brothers for the sake of this country alone? Verily, I say unto you, God has raised them up for the awakening and salvation of all men." In 1218 he went himself to Palestine, thinking, in the simplicity of his faith, to convert the Moslems by preaching. He went boldly into the Moslem army at Damietta, in Egypt, and preached, but with no success. Among the armies of the Crusaders, however, he won a number of recruits.

LAST YEARS
OF FRANCIS

Returning to Italy after two years, Francis found that those whom he had left in charge of the brotherhood had somewhat departed from his ideals. He intended not only that the individual brothers should have no property of their own, but also that the brotherhood should have none. Poverty seemed to him to mean liberty from worldly cares interfering with Christian discipleship. But in his absence his rule was modified, so that the brotherhood could hold property. He was deeply troubled by this, and by some other changes which he found. It is possible that

he became convinced that his ideal of poverty was impracticable for a body of men carrying on work in many countries, as the brotherhood now was. Perhaps he saw also that he was incapable of managing a great, widespread organization. Certainly his gifts were not those of administration. At any rate, he asked the Pope to take the brotherhood under his protection, which resulted in its being made an order, on the same plane as the monastic orders, and he resigned his place as its head. During his few remaining years he felt much sorrow over tendencies in the order away from his desires for it. But before his death his old joyfulness returned and uttered itself in the famous "Canticle of the Sun."

In spite of some variations from the ideals of Francis, the Franciscans for many years kept much of his spirit. Wherever there were neglected and wretched people, the Franciscans set up their houses and labored. The Dominicans were worthy rivals to them in single-minded devotion to their work. The friars of both orders preached widely and served their fellow men in many other ways. Both orders carried their missions to the limits of the known world, with heroic fidelity. A noble Franciscan, John de Monte Corvino, reached Peking before the end of the thirteenth century, and worked there eleven years alone, until another joined him. He gained large results in a service which lasted thirty-six years. Many of the leaders of the medieval church came from these

LATER WORK
OF DOMINI-
CANS AND
FRANCISCANS

two orders, in particular almost all of its greatest theologians.

DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN
RELIGIOUS
LEADERS AND
THE PEOPLE

There is a strange distance between what the medieval church produced in a comparatively few great characters, such as Bernard, Dominic, Francis, Anselm, Louis IX of France, and Catherine of Siena, and the religious life of the great mass under its rule. The distance is certainly far greater than that between the highest characters and the great mass in modern European and American Protestantism.

POPULAR
CHRISTIANITY
A RELIGION OF
FEAR

The Christianity of almost all people in the Middle Ages was essentially a religion of fear. The church held its children in control by keeping alive in them dread of its power over life here and hereafter. The God of whom it taught was a God of judgment, whose anger against sin could be averted only by conformity to the commands of the church to which he had given authority. What made most people take part in religious observances and obey the moral precepts of religion was not love and trust toward God, but terror at the thought of the consequences of doing otherwise.

AND OF
SUPERSTITION

Popular Christianity also consisted largely of superstitious beliefs and practices. There was much of this nature in the worship of the church and in its system of sacramental power. The common people, because of ignorance and surviving heathen habits of mind, took up with the superstitious part of the form of Christianity which was put before them, rather than with its more

spiritual part. It was mostly in the former that they found their religion. Much can be learned about the religion of the people in the Middle Ages from the "*Dialogus Miraculorum*," a book written by Cæsar of Heisterbach in Germany while Francis was preaching in Italy. It is a collection of wonderful stories, which the author and the people among whom he lived accepted as absolutely true. The book shows that in popular belief there was much that was not above the level of gross heathenism. For example, a hawk seized a parrot and flew away with it. But the parrot cried out, "Holy Thomas of Canterbury, save me"; whereupon the hawk fell dead to the ground. Again, when a certain woman's bees became diseased, she put into the hive a wafer of the bread of the communion. The bees, perceiving the body of Christ, built round it a little chapel, with tower, door, windows and altar.¹

Thus the religion of the mass of the people was a much debased Christianity. In these times the common people were grossly ignorant and very poor. They lived in filth and general wretchedness rarely seen nowadays. Since they had to uplift them only this corrupt kind of religion, it is no wonder that there was great and widespread wickedness. Evil and misery were frightfully prevalent among the people, especially in the great towns.

¹ See also the story about the arm of John the Baptist, on p. 136. These stories are taken from Workman: "*The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*," Vol. II, pp. 187, 188.

EVANGELICAL
RELIGION
AMONG THE
PEOPLE

Yet in some places, particularly in Germany, there was to be found true evangelical piety. This was taught through the associations of family life rather than through the agencies of the church. We have evidence of its existence in hymns used in the homes, and in some accounts of medieval home life. The Lutheran Friedrich Mecum said of his own childhood, before the Reformation: "My dear father had taught me in my childhood the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and constrained me to pray always. For, said he, 'Everything comes to us from God alone, and that *gratis*, free of cost, and he will lead us and rule us, if we only diligently pray to him.' " After quoting this, the historian Lindsay adds, "We can trace this simple evangelical family religion away back through the Middle Ages." ¹

9. The Service of the Medieval Church to the World

Protestants are in danger of failing to appreciate the good in the medieval church and the good that it did. This church was a part, and the largest part, of the Church of Christ. Though mixed with much error, it kept through centuries the faith of Christ. The reformers tore away many of the errors, and gave to Europe the faith in a far purer form. But the faith was there to be disencumbered because it had been handed down from generation to generation through the medieval church. This church, as we have seen,

THE CHURCH
PRESERVED
CHRISTIAN
FAITH

↓
bias

¹ Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 124.

produced some men and women who stood near to Christ; a tree wholly corrupt could not bring forth such fruit.

Moreover, in order to judge aright this great organization, we must look at it in the light of the world in which it was placed. When it was forming, Europe was in the chaos caused by the migrations of the peoples. The Roman Empire, which had held the world together, was gone. There was danger that the population of Europe would break up into warring barbarian tribes. This would have meant the drowning of Christianity and civilization under a deluge of heathenism and savagery. The situation demanded a powerful organization which should bind men into one and hold them in some degree of control. This need the church met. Later, when the power of the great nobles developed, another danger appeared. This was that Europe would be separated into many domains ruled by nobles, great and small, always fighting with one another. Against this tendency toward division and hostility, the one church including all men was a great power. It kept in the life of western Europe a measure of unity, which gave opportunity for Christianity and civilization to live and grow.

The medieval church took hold of the barbarians who flooded Europe, instructed them in Christian truth, and trained them in Christian and civilized living. No doubt this work was very imperfectly done. But it was actually done, and done well enough to prove permanent. We cannot see in

IT KEPT
EUROPE
IN UNITY

IT CHRISTIAN-
IZED AND CIVI-
LIZED THE
BARBARIANS

those times any means by which the work could have been done better. With all its faults, the church achieved priceless advances in general morals and conferred inestimable benefits. It introduced principles of Christian morality into law. It tempered the lot of slaves. It elevated the position of women. It defended the family. It somewhat lessened and mitigated war. Its charities relieved much need and gave men a living lesson in the spirit of Jesus. For centuries the church provided nearly all the education which Europe had. Most of the scholars and thinkers of the Middle Ages belonged to its clergy. To the church we owe directly most of the noblest works of medieval art.

Despite errors and corruptions the medieval church was in its time a providential instrument for the preservation and extension of Christianity and Christian civilization. When its time ended it was in large measure broken up and other instruments arose for the work which it had done.

II. THE EASTERN CHURCH

Just before the beginning of this period (1054) came the final break between the East and the West. The Eastern or Greek Church then became an entirely separate organization. Its chief ruler was the patriarch of Constantinople, but he never had such power as the Pope had in the West.

WORSHIP

In worship and popular religion the Greek Church had interesting likenesses to and differences from the Western Church. The seven sacra-

THE
SACRAMENTS

ments were accepted in it. Baptism was administered by immersion in infancy. Penance was required, but it never was so systematic as in the West, nor were indulgences given. The priests as they pronounced absolution told penitents that they could not forgive, but only God. Nevertheless the idea of the church's mediation between God and man prevailed, as in the West.

THE
COMMUNION
SERVICE

The central feature of worship was the communion, as the mass was in the West. The communion service was an even more elaborate ceremony than Roman high mass. It contained many symbolic actions. Candles were lighted and put out; doors were opened and closed; the clergy walked in procession, bent the knee, prostrated themselves, kissed the altar and the book of the gospel, crossed themselves, changed their vestments of varied colors, embroidered and jeweled. The aim of all was to produce awe and faith by an appeal to the eye.

SUPERSTITIONS

There was not much preaching, as in the West. But Bible-reading was encouraged much more than there. The Bible was translated into the speech of several of the peoples of the church. Generally the ritual was in the language of the people. Yet the worship of images of the saints and the adoration of relics were carried even farther than in the West, and popular religion was even more superstitious. This was true of the Greeks, and still more of the Russians.¹

The Greek Church allowed its priests to marry.

¹ See p. 75.

before ordination, and most of its clergy were married. Bishops, however, had to be unmarried, so that they were usually chosen from among the monks. Monasteries were many and crowded, but the monks were not such valuable missionaries of Christianity and civilization as in the West.

MISSIONS

The Moslem rule in western Asia made it impossible for the Greek Church to spread Christianity there. Some missionary work was done in the heathen parts of Russia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the thirteenth the terrible disaster of the Mongol occupation of Russia stopped the spread of Christianity there, too.

**LACK OF
PROGRESS**

Thus the Eastern Church had great hindrances to service in outward circumstances. But its greatest hindrance was its own lack of the spirit of progress. Its ruling desire was to remain what it had been, to avoid change. Since the eighth century it has changed very little in doctrine and worship. It has changed in government only because of political events.

**NESTORIAN
CHURCH**

A word should be said here about the Nestorian Church. It continued in this period its widespread missions, and grew greatly. In the thirteenth century its patriarch had under him seventy bishoprics, including multitudes of Christians from Edessa in Syria to Peking, and from Siberia to southern India. But from this time until the fifteenth century the Mongol invasions brought on the Nestorians fearful losses, from which they have never recovered. Their church still exists

in Persia and Syria, in pitiful weakness and corruption.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the character and work of Bernard of Clairvaux.
2. Describe the work of Dominic.
3. Describe the religious experience of Francis of Assisi.
4. Tell how Francis formed his brotherhood, and describe its ministry.
5. Describe the later years of Francis.
6. Describe the growth of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and their work after the deaths of their founders.
7. What was the character of the Christianity of the common people in the Middle Ages?
8. Explain these services given by the medieval church;
 - a. The preservation of the Christian faith.
 - b. Keeping Europe in unity.
 - c. Christianizing and civilizing the barbarians.
 - d. Uplifting general morals.
 - e. Advancing intellectual life.
9. Describe worship in the Eastern Church.
10. What were the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches as to
 - a. Bible-reading.
 - b. The use of the language of the people.
 - c. The marriage of the clergy.
 - d. The character of the religion of the people?
11. How does the Eastern Church show its conservatism?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," ch. XXIX, on the universities; ch. XXX, on the Dominicans and Franciscans.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period V, section ii, on Bernard; section iv, on the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Schaff: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. V,

Part I, ch. VIII, on Bernard, Dominic, Francis, and their orders; ch. XVI, on popular religion.

Sabatier: "St. Francis of Assisi."

Coulton: "Five Centuries of Religion," Vol. I, chs. VIII-XIII, on the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Coulton: "A Medieval Garner," on popular religion.

Latourette: "The Thousand Years of Uncertainty" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. II), pp. 324-338, on the missions of the Dominicans and Franciscans; pp. 345-394, on the effect of the church on the life of western Europe.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," Part I, Division II, chs. VII-IX, on the Greek Church; Part II, Division III, chs. II-IV, on the church in Russia; Part II, Division IV, chs. III-V, on the Nestorians.

CHAPTER X

DECAY AND NEW LIFE IN THE WESTERN CHURCH

(A. D. 1294-1517)

In this chapter we shall trace two diverse movements. One is the decay of the church which for centuries had represented Christianity in western Europe. The other is the rise of new forces which were to cause the formation of new organizations more truly representing Christianity.

I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

At the middle of the thirteenth century, we have seen, the papacy overthrew its chief rival the German, or Holy Roman, Empire.¹ Never again was the empire so strong as it had been. But in the later Middle Ages the French and English nations developed greatly. Each of these peoples became united under a series of masterful kings. Each had a lively sense of national independence, and resented interference by foreigners in its own affairs. And the German people also, while they did not work out their national government until a much later time, began to have a stronger national spirit. When we come to study the Reformation, we shall find that it was in one aspect a revolt of certain great nations of western

RISE OF
NATIONAL
POWER

¹ See p. 114.

Europe against the rule of the Roman Church, exercised over them by a foreigner, the Pope. In the period covered by this chapter there rises this national strength which was later to throw off the church's control and shatter its organization.

II. WHERE THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH FAILED

In Chapter IX we considered the services rendered by the medieval church, and saw that in its time it was an indispensable instrument of the kingdom of God. Now we must look at some great faults of the church, which, growing worse during this period, showed that it had reached the end of its usefulness, as it was in this time.

A. THE CORRUPTION OF THE CLERGY

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

The church failed shamefully and ruinously in the decay of the character of its clergy. Two causes of this decay can be seen. What for a time was a strength to the church turned out in the end to be a weakness, that is, the tremendous authority of the priesthood. Such powers and privileges over their fellow men as were held by the clergy, especially those of higher rank, could not but harm their characters. Equally injurious was the great wealth belonging to the church and enjoyed by the clergy, particularly by those in the superior places.

SELF-SEEKING AND AVARICE

Because of these things, selfishness came to rule the lives of most of the clergy. They were zealous to guard their legal and social privileges. They made money their great end. Many were "plural-

ists," that is, they held two or more clerical offices and drew their incomes, sometimes hiring cheap substitutes to do the work which they could not do. By simony, flourishing still in spite of all reformers, great and rich places were gained. *Sinecures*, positions with large incomes and no work, were numerous and eagerly sought. Avarice was worst in the upper clergy. The greed, the extortions, the "graft" of the bishops were a public scandal.

Immorality also was widespread. It does no good to "stir cesspools"; it is enough to say that in the later Middle Ages drunkenness, gluttony and uncleanness were increasingly common among the clergy. The literature of the time is full of attacks on their vices. Here also the bishops, whose example was so powerful, had a "bad eminence."

IMMORALITY

This degradation of the clergy deepened through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, until Europe was full of indignation and hatred against them. Pope Benedict XIII's secretary said of them, "Scarcely one in a thousand sincerely does what his profession requires." The monastic orders somewhat resisted the moral decay for a while. But they, too, became infected, and we find monks and nuns the objects of widespread scorn because of their vices. Even the Mendicants, so lately founded, at last largely yielded to the prevalent degeneration, though both orders maintained extensive and heroic missions, and in both there were parties that were true to the early ideals.

CORRUPTION
INCREASING

B. THE DEGRADATION OF RELIGION

Another great failure of the church was in teaching a debased form of Christianity. The church allowed the gospel to be overlaid with a religion of sacramental rites bringing a magical salvation, prayers to the good spirits of the Virgin and the saints, godless fear of evil spirits, wonder-working relics and charms, and priestly curses and deliverances. Protest against all this was made by dissenters, first appearing in the eleventh century. The early preaching of the Mendicants was an effort of spiritually minded men to give the people something better. But the church in general learned nothing. As the Middle Ages draw toward their close we see no important endeavor to purify worship and teaching.

C. THE NEGLECT OF THE PEOPLE

NEGLECT OF
CLERICAL DUTY

A third great failure of the later medieval church was its neglect of the people committed to its charge. It goes without saying that a clergy such as we have described shirked its duties. Bishops rarely inspected the churches they were supposed to oversee. Parish priests were usually satisfied with performing at the prescribed times the Latin ritual, which none of the people, and often not the priest himself, understood. Very few of them preached, and there was little pastoral visiting and instruction. The people heard sermons only from Franciscan and Dominican friars.

One aspect of the church's failure to care for the people is particularly interesting at the pres-

ent time. The towns of Europe grew very rapidly from the twelfth century, just as the cities of the United States have done in recent years. Ruled by self-seeking and careless clergy, the church grievously failed to meet the new need. It did not provide nearly enough churches and priests for the people of many places. In the horrible filth of medieval towns thousands of the poor lived without Christian care for body or soul.

LACK OF
RELIGIOUS
PROVISION
FOR THE GROW-
ING TOWNS

Two things already mentioned must be taken into account here. One was the character and example of the clergy. The other was the character of the religion which the church offered. To people needing the gospel it gave a great system of superstition, administered by a worldly and corrupt priesthood. For the ignorance and wickedness and misery, physical and spiritual, of the later Middle Ages, the church had no better remedy than this.

WHAT THE
CHURCH
OFFERED TO
THE PEOPLE

III. MOVEMENTS OF PROTEST

These fatal faults of the church had not grown up without condemnation. As early as the twelfth century there were several movements of dissent from the church, by bodies of men who found so much evil in it that they forsook its communion and worship. By far the most important of these took place in southeastern France, under the leadership of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne. They and their followers were opposed to some of the superstitious elements in the church's worship and usages, and indignant at immorality in the clergy. This "Petrobrusian" movement grew

PETRO-
BRUSIANS

until throughout a large region most of the people of all ranks deserted the churches and scorned the priests.

CATHARI

Somewhat connected with this movement was the powerful religious party of the Cathari, which flourished in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was really a rival church, for it had its own peculiar organization, ministry, beliefs, worship and sacraments. Its beliefs were a strange and gloomy mixture of Christianity and Oriental religious ideas. Matter was created by Satan, not by God, the Cathari said, and was the seat and source of evil. Hence they could not believe that the Son of God had had a human body and life. Hence also they held that the way to holiness lay through escape from the flesh, by denial of its desires, or even by suicide. Their vigorous, self-denying morality was a rebuke to many of the clergy and people who bore the Christian name. Their worship and sacraments were in part modeled after those of the church, but freed of superstitious elements and elaborate formalism. Though not really Christian, they represented a widespread desire for a better religion than the church was offering. The Cathari spread in Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands and Germany. They were strongest in southeastern France, where they were called Albigenses (from the town Albi). Everywhere the Cathari were hunted by the Inquisition, which was established largely on their account. Against the Albigenses there was waged at the bidding of Innocent III a fearful war of

extermination, lasting twenty years, and depopulating and laying waste the garden of France.

The Franciscan and Dominican orders, formed soon after the rise of the Cathari, show that within the church there was recognition of its shortcomings, especially of its failure to preach the gospel. But, as we have seen, they lost much of their vitality in the later Middle Ages.

Another movement of protest was the Waldensian.¹ Late in the twelfth century a merchant of Lyons named Peter Waldo was moved by reading the tenth chapter of Matthew to give his money to the poor and become a wandering preacher of the gospel. Numerous followers gathered to him, and preached as he did. At first they intended to do their work within the church, though their purpose clearly shows a feeling that the church was not doing its duty. The ecclesiastical authorities, however, soon excommunicated them. Thus cast out and made hostile, they developed gradually into a dissenting church. In the late Middle Ages we find the Waldenses completely organized and spread widely over western Europe. In spite of constant hounding by the Inquisition, they were intensely active in teaching the gospel and circulating manuscript portions of the Bible in the language of the people.

Much like the Waldenses were the dissenters calling themselves the "Brethren." These peo-

WALDENSES

"BRETHREN"

¹ There is a direct connection between this and the modern Waldensian Church of Italy, but in the course of the centuries a great change in religious teachings occurred.

ple held a simple Christian faith, and were known among their neighbors for the unusual goodness and purity of their lives. They had nothing to do with the church and its clergy, and carried on their own religious services, in the vulgar tongue. They were great Bible-readers, and possessed many written copies of translations of the Bible, or portions of it. The societies of the "Brethren" all over Europe were in correspondence, and worked together. Like the Waldenses, they were active missionaries, in secret on account of persecution. Their strongest hold was among the workingmen of the towns, particularly in Germany.

But from all this growing volume of protest against its faults the church learned nothing. Its only answer was the Inquisition. Such an attitude was a prophecy of doom.

IV. DOWNFALL OF THE PAPACY

A. BONIFACE VIII

We turn now to look at still plainer signs of the coming disaster, appearing in the church's seat of supreme power. In 1294, after the papacy had suffered some loss of influence through several unwise Popes, Boniface VIII came to the throne. He had the ideas and the spirit of Hildebrand and Innocent III, and he thought to surpass even them. He aimed at being spiritual and temporal ruler of Europe, emperor as well as Pope. It is said that during the jubilee of 1300 he let thousands of pilgrims see him seated on a throne, wearing the

crown and sword of Constantine, and shouting, "I am Cæsar; I am emperor." True or not, the story truly represents him.

But when he attempted to carry out his ideas, he met two strong kings, Edward I of England and Philip the Fair of France. With united nations behind them, they bade him keep his hands out of their national affairs. The dispute, which was over the kings' right to tax church property, brought to a sharp issue the main question, whether church or nation should rule in the national territory. Boniface clamored, but had to yield. Later he became involved in another quarrel with Philip of France. In true Hildebrandine style, he asserted the papal supremacy over all kings, excommunicated Philip and threatened to depose him. Philip's answer to the papal thunders was to send men-at-arms to seize the Pope. At Anagni they captured him and for three days held him prisoner. Then he was released and returned to Rome, but very soon died (1303), heartbroken, or crazed by his sudden and awful fall. The mediæval papacy had received an incurable wound. The power that had ruled the world had been put to open shame, and no one had lifted a hand to defend it. What had struck the blow was the new political force of nationality.

HIS DOWNFALL

B. THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY

The papacy was now in the power of the French king. In 1309 this was publicly declared by the Pope locating his seat at Avignon, on the Rhone,

just across the river from French territory. Here, in its "Babylonish Captivity," the papacy remained for sixty-eight years. In this time it lost its hold on the mind and conscience of Europe. The mere removal from Rome meant an irreparable decline of authority. This was felt by all men, even the most ignorant and unthinking. The French control lowered the papacy in the eyes of all other peoples. Great loss of moral influence came from the notorious immorality of the papal court, in which some of the Popes set the example. Still greater loss came from the insatiable avarice of the Avignon Popes. Europe groaned under their manifold and never-ceasing extortions.

C. THE GREAT SCHISM

As if the Captivity were not enough, there followed the Great Schism in the papacy. Bowing to the demand of public opinion, but probably moved still more by the insistence of that wonderful young woman, St. Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI in 1377 returned to Rome. Shortly after the election of his successor in 1378 a rival Pope was chosen by the French cardinals, and set up his court at Avignon. For more than thirty years there were two Popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. Some nations acknowledged Rome and some Avignon. Division and strife spread through the whole church. The situation became so intolerable that the cardinals of both Popes called a general council to heal the Schism. It met at Pisa in 1409, and chose a new Pope. But

since the existing two refused to resign, there were now three Popes. Five years later there met another general council, that of Constance, which deposed two of them and persuaded the third to resign. Then the Schism was ended through the election of Martin V, who was acknowledged by the whole church. Martin and several of his successors were shrewd politicians and good managers, and they regained for the papacy more power and respect than seemed possible. But it could never be what it had been.

V. REVOLTS FROM THE CHURCH; THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the conditions which we have described caused two revolts which the church could not suppress.

A. JOHN WYCLIF

For John Wyclif's work the way was prepared by the growth in England of national spirit. When he came into strife with the papacy, in 1375, England for three quarters of a century, through kings and parliaments and even bishops, had been resisting papal interference in its church affairs. Wyclif (who was born between 1320 and 1330) was already famous as the first scholar and the leading man of Oxford. He was also priest of Lutterworth, where he had gained his strong sympathy with the poor. His first blow at the church was a denial of the Pope's right to collect tribute from England. The papal Schism

WYCLIF'S
POSITION AND
TEACHINGS

caused him to go much further in his views. He now denounced the papacy and the entire clerical organization, maintaining that there should be no distinctions of rank among the clergy. Going yet further, he denied the central doctrine of medieval religion, that of transubstantiation.

HIS APPEAL TO
THE ENGLISH
PEOPLE

TRANSLATION
OF THE BIBLE

THE LOLLARDS

For these teachings, Wyclif was condemned by a church council. Before this he had begun his great appeal to the people. In many tracts, in homely English, he attacked the whole system of the medieval church, and declared that the Bible was the supreme authority in religion. Then came his greatest work, the translation of the Bible from the Vulgate, the Latin version, into English. By this Wyclif and his helpers, Oxford scholars, opened the Bible to the English people for the first time. To circulate among the people his teachings and his Bible he formed his order of "poor priests," nicknamed Lollards. Some of these were Oxford students, but more were uneducated young men from Wyclif's parish. Wearing rough russet robes, barefoot and with staves in their hands, depending on charity for food and shelter, they went all over England. They carried manuscripts of Wyclif's tracts and sermons and of portions of his Bible, and as they went they preached. They increased enormously, and were a great power for the spread of evangelical religion. Though in the fifteenth century they were savagely persecuted, they continued their work until the time of the Reformation.

While his missionaries were out on the roads,

Wyclif's end came. So strong was his position in England that the ecclesiastical authorities did no more against him than call him a heretic, and he died in peace in his parish.

WYCLIF'S
DEATH

B. JOHN HUS

Wyclif's teachings bore fruit in another and even greater revolt against the church, led by John Hus (1373-1415). In the Bohemians whom Hus led we have another case of intense national spirit. By origin Hus was distinctly a man of the people. An influential lecturer in the University of Prague, and a priest, he was appointed to an important place as preacher in Prague. There he at once became the spokesman of his nation in both its political and its religious desires. He expressed its determination to maintain its rights against the Germans, and its strong demand that the outrageously immoral Bohemian clergy should be reformed. He knew his people, he was trusted by them for the purity of his character, he had splendid eloquence; and thus he became a powerful national leader.

JOHN HUS,
THE LEADER
OF THE BO-
HEMIANS

Getting hold of Wyclif's books, Hus eagerly received Wyclif's ideas. By teaching the doctrines of a heretic he came into conflict with the rulers of the church. But he asserted his right to preach the truth of Christ as he saw it. Being excommunicated for his defiance of Pope John XXIII in 1412, he appealed to a general council. Such a council met at Constance in 1414, and there Hus appeared. In the interval he wrote his chief book,

HIS CONFLICT
WITH THE
CHURCH AND
MARTYRDOM

in which he taught that "the law of Christ," that is, the New Testament, was sufficient guidance for the church, and that the Pope was to be obeyed only so far as his commands were founded upon this law. Hus's trial at Constance was a mockery. The council had already condemned Wyclif, who had been thirty years dead, as a heretic. Thus Hus's case was decided beforehand. Protesting his fidelity to Christ, scorning to gain release by recanting teachings falsely charged against him, he was burned at the stake in Constance.

RESULTS OF HUS'S LIFE

The wrath of the Bohemians at the killing of their national hero knew no bounds. Soon a great party of them began a war for independence. They defeated the German emperor, overran part of Germany, and greatly disturbed European affairs in general. Out of this Hussite revolt grew the Bohemian Brethren, a powerful religious body outside the church, whose activity leavened Bohemia and Moravia and even parts of Germany with evangelical Christianity. In other parts of Europe the martyrdom of Hus strengthened the spirit of revolt against the church.

VI. EFFORTS AT REFORM WITHIN THE CHURCH

A. THE DEMAND FOR REFORM

As we read of all these things, we ask in amazement whether there were not in these times men who stayed in the church, but had enough wisdom and Christianity to see that its evils must be remedied. Such men there were, and very many.

REFORMERS IN THE CHURCH

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw within the church a great rising tide of the spirit of reform. The degradation of the papacy in the Captivity and the Schism, the Popes' extortions and meddling in church affairs everywhere, the vice, avarice, incompetence and negligence of the clergy, the breaking down of discipline and administration in the hands of feeble or corrupt bishops—these things caused widespread sorrow and wrath, and loud demands that the shame and evil of the church be removed. So spoke many men of high rank in the clergy, including not a few bishops and cardinals. Statesmen and kings insisted that something must be done. From all countries, but especially from Germany and France, came the call for reform. The greatest theological school of the church, the University of Paris, was altogether ruled by the reformers, and supplied much of the leadership of their party.

B. THE REFORMING COUNCILS

The means by which it was proposed to reform the church was a general council. A council, according to the old theory, was the supreme authority in the church. The papacy being hopeless, the reformers revived this theory as an instrument of their aims. It was first employed at the council of Pisa, in a vain effort to heal the Schism. Shortly afterwards the council of Constance was called, and it succeeded in restoring the unity of the church.

ATTEMPT AT
REFORM IN
THE COUNCIL
OF CONSTANCE

But many in the council meant to do much more than this. They meant to secure what they called "the reformation of the church in head and members." The council was as able, intelligent and earnest a body of men as could have been gathered at that time. It was thoroughly representative of the church, and of the civil power of Europe as well, for almost all the civil rulers attended in person or by ambassador. No doubt a majority of its members were genuinely determined to secure the much-needed reforms. They had powerful support through the personal presence of the emperor Sigismund, who was strongly of this mind. Yet, though there was much talk about reform, the council after three years' sitting adjourned with nothing done. The papal politicians played a shrewd game of opposition to any change that would injure their interests. National jealousies divided the reformers. But the real cause of the failure was that there was not among them enough character, enough moral enthusiasm and firmness of purpose to attain their object.

FAILURE

COUNCIL OF
BASEL; FAIL-
URE AGAIN

A few years later the reformers had another chance, at the general council of Basel. But here again, though there was much talk of reform while the council dragged out its interminable length (1431-1449), nothing substantial was done.

What we learn from all this, and what some men then learned, was that reform of the church would not come by action of its existing organization. From that organization the hold of the powers of evil could not be broken, in spite of

the indignant demand of the public opinion of Europe. Reform must come by revolution, by a breaking of the organization.

VII. THE RENAISSANCE AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION

Already a great movement was going on in the life of Europe which was to produce some of the energy needed for religious revolution. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the time of the Renaissance, that awakening of human nature whose power worked so widely and deeply that we need a word meaning re-birth to describe it. All the faculties of human nature were wonderfully quickened, and every part of human activity showed the results. The mind of man made splendid new conquests in every direction.

THE
RENAISSANCE

Great geographical discoveries, among them those of Columbus, were made in east and west, and thus the true form and size of the earth were determined. Even more wonderful was Copernicus' discovery of the solar system, revolutionizing men's ideas about the universe in which they lived. In mechanical invention there were great achievements, by far the most influential of which was the making of the printing press (about 1450). By its use knowledge and ideas could be spread among men far more widely and rapidly than before. So the human mind was yet more awakened and energized for further advances, one of which was to be the Protestant Reformation. The Reforma-

DISCOVERIES
AND
INVENTIONS

tion could never have occurred in a time when books had to be made by writing.

COMMERCE
AND POLITICS

The geographical discoveries produced a swift expansion of commerce and industry, and roused in the nations of Europe colonizing ambitions. In the sphere of politics the new life showed itself in the rapid development of the national life and power of France, Spain and England.

REVIVAL OF
LEARNING

One of the principal causes of all this awakening was the bringing of the mind of Europe into contact with the culture and civilization of Greece and Rome, of which the Middle Ages were ignorant. This came about chiefly through the new knowledge of Greek, for centuries an unknown tongue in western Europe. Thus all the wonderful world of classic thought and literature and art was suddenly opened. The sight of it thrilled men and roused them to great achievements. The works of the Renaissance in art and literature, which include some of the world's most precious possessions, thus got their inspiration.

THE REVIVAL
OF LEARNING
PRODUCED
REFORMERS

In this aspect of the Renaissance, which is called the Revival of Learning, we find a direct preparation for the coming reformation in religion. The discovery of Greek meant that men could now read the New Testament in the original. With the rejoicing enthusiasm which marked all their study of ancient literatures, many of the humanists, as the men of the Revival of Learning were called, entered into the study of the New Testament. There they saw face to face the divine ideal for the Christian Church; and as they compared this

with what they saw in the church about them, many of the humanists became ardent reformers. This took place especially in Germany, and also in France and England. John Colet of Oxford and the great New Testament scholar, Erasmus, represent this religious result of the Revival of Learning. Such men expounded Christianity according to the New Testament, and held up to scorn the evils of the church.

These humanists of religious purpose greatly strengthened the spirit of reform in the church. They also caused an increase of the study of the Bible, and thus prepared reading men for a truer form of religion. Finally, the whole Renaissance movement, by its influence in opening and rousing men's minds and accustoming them to cast off old ideas and strike out into new paths, was a powerful forerunner of the coming change in religious ideas. Without it the Protestant Reformation could not have occurred.

THE
RENAISSANCE
AND THE
REFORMATION

VIII. SOCIAL UNREST AS A PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION

Another set of new forces did much to prepare the way for the Reformation—those of social unrest and revolt. What is to be said here applies chiefly to Germany. For over a hundred years, from about 1400, the peasants of southern Germany were in continual, angry protest against the oppressions of their lords, the nobles whose lands they tilled. Repeatedly this resulted in open, armed revolts. In these movements the peasants

SOCIAL UNREST
IN GERMANY

were often joined by the poorer workingmen of the towns and by all sorts of men who felt that the existing laws did not protect their rights. Two religious elements were constantly present in this social disturbance. One was a fierce hatred of the priests on account of their exactions of money and their refusal to do anything for the relief of the oppressed classes. The other was an appeal to Christian principles of social justice.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century the unrest became more acute and the revolts more frequent. Though put down with savage cruelty, they kept breaking out. A sudden rise of prices and a succession of scanty harvests made things still worse. Thus in the years just before the Reformation, Germany, particularly in the south, was seething with the bitter discontent of the poor, often flaming up angrily into desperate rebellion. In this discontent there were, as we have seen, elements favorable to a new order in religion; and the whole situation made many ready to welcome such a revolution as the Reformation was.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Explain how the medieval church failed in these ways;
 - a. The corruption of the clergy.
 - b. The degradation of religion.
 - c. The neglect of the needs of the people.
2. Describe the Cathari. In what ways was their movement a protest against conditions in the church?
3. Describe the Waldenses. What was their attitude toward the church?
4. Describe the "Brethren." Where were they strongest?
5. Describe the downfall of Boniface VIII.

6. What was the "Babylonish Captivity"? How did it affect the power of the papacy?

7. What was the Great Schism? How was it ended?

8. Describe Wyclif's conflict with the church.

9. Who were the Lollards?

10. Why did the church proceed against John Hus? Describe his death. What was the result of his career?

11. How much desire for reform existed in the church in this period? What efforts were made to secure reform?

12. What was the Renaissance?

13. What was the relation of the printing press to the Reformation?

14. What was the Revival of Learning? How was it related to the Reformation?

15. How did the general influence of the Renaissance prepare for the Reformation?

16. Describe the social unrest in Germany in the fifteenth century. How was it a preparation for the Reformation?

READING

Munro-Sontag: "The Middle Ages," chs. XXXVII-XL, on England and France, the church, economic movements, the Renaissance.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period V, sections iii, x-xvi.

Schaff: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. V, Part I, ch. X, on medieval dissent; Part II, chs. I, II, on the papacy and the councils; chs. III-V, on men of reforming spirit, Wyclif, Hus.

Workman: "John Wyclif."

Schaff: "John Huss."

J. T. McNeill: "Makers of Christianity from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher," on Waldo, Wyclif, Hus.

T. M. Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, Book I, ch. III, on the Renaissance; ch. IV, on social unrest in Germany; ch. VI, on the humanists as reformers.

Lucas: "The Renaissance and the Reformation," Book I, on the church, the Renaissance, the Revival of Learning.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: I

(A. D. 1517-1648)

I. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

A. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

THE EMPEROR
CHARLES V

The ruler who had most to do with the Reformation in its early stages was the emperor Charles V. By right of descent king of Spain, then one of the strongest nations of Europe, and also lord of the Netherlands, he was elected to the throne of the German Empire in 1519. Thus he was a monarch of extraordinary power.

POLITICAL
CONDITION OF
GERMANY

But we must not let the title "emperor" lead us to think that in Germany he had absolute authority. Had he had this, the Reformation would have been crushed in its beginnings. The emperor did not rule directly in any part of Germany, except in certain towns called "free cities." At the time of the Reformation Germany—which comprehended the lands from the Rhine to the borders of Hungary and former Poland, excluding Switzerland—had not yet become a nation under a strong central government, as had England, France and Spain. The German, or Holy Roman Empire, consisted of many separate territories, great and small. Their rulers, who bore various

titles, such as elector, landgrave, margrave, acknowledged the emperor as their feudal lord; but each of them governed his own territory, nearly in independence. These rulers, called the "princes," figure largely in Reformation history. The empire had a kind of central authority in the Diet, which was an assembly comprising all the princes and the great nobles, the men who held lands as vassals of the emperor. We shall several times notice the actions of the Imperial Diet.

Charles V was by blood German and Spanish, but by nature altogether Spanish, never at home with the Germans or understanding them. In religious belief he was thoroughly a man of the Middle Ages. He sincerely desired a thorough moral reform of the church, and steadily worked for it. He was not subservient to the Pope, and held that a general council was the highest authority in the church. But he was altogether opposed to any change in doctrine, nor could he ever comprehend why anyone should want any change. It helps to understand him if we remember that when, after reigning thirty-six years, he saw his plans concerning the religion of his empire going to ruin, he laid aside his crown and spent the rest of his days in a monastery. He was slow, cool, patient, persistent; sometimes cruel, sometimes double-faced; always set against new religious ideas. Such was the chief antagonist of the Reformation in Germany.

Charles had a rival, sometimes enemy and sometimes ally, in Francis I, the brilliant, ambitious

CHARACTER
AND RELIGION
OF CHARLES V

HIS POLITICAL
SITUATION IN
EUROPE

king of France. He had a dangerous enemy on the other side, in the Turks, who had captured Constantinople in 1453, and then for a century often spread terror through Germany by their fierce attacks on the eastern frontier of the empire. He had varying political relations, now friendly and now hostile, with the Popes; for the Popes of his time were frankly in politics, like other rulers. All these features of the emperor's situation affected greatly the progress of the Reformation.

B. HOW LUTHER BECAME A REFORMER

LUTHER'S YOUTH

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was born of peasant stock at Eisleben, in Saxony. His father was an iron miner. He was very poor in Luther's childhood, but he got on in the world so that he was able to give his son a first-rate education. Luther's religious training included much of the simple household piety of Germany in the Middle Ages,¹ and also much medieval superstition. In his childhood, as in his manhood, he was deeply religious, although also entirely natural and cheerful. At eighteen he went to the most famous university of Germany, that of Erfurt, intending, as his father desired, to study law. Four years he spent in studies preliminary to his professional training, going deeply into medieval philosophy. He was a great student, a great talker and debater, very sociable and very musical. He was just about to begin his work in law; and then suddenly, to the

¹ See p. 152.

great disappointment of his father and his friends, he became a monk, entering the Erfurt convent of the Augustinians. He had become anxious about his salvation; as he says, he "doubted of himself." For a medieval man, the surest road to salvation was the monastic life. This way Luther took, sacrificing the world for the sake of his soul.

HE BECOMES
A MONK

In the monastery he had an agonizing spiritual struggle. He had gone there to seek salvation, but he did not find peace and assurance of being right with God. He heaped on himself fasts, watchings and scourgings, and sought from his confessor absolution for every slightest sin, until he was told to moderate his austerities and confess less often. He was in every way a model monk, and became famous for his piety in his order. Still he was burdened with a sense of sinfulness and of being under God's wrath. He tried out the way of salvation according to the teaching of the medieval church and found it utterly unprofitable.

HIS STRUGGLE
IN THE
MONASTERY

From indescribable anguish and terror Luther was delivered by the revelation to him of the central truth of the gospel of Christ. Toward this he was led by several influences. The Vicar-General of his order, Staupitz, taught him that God was merciful; to him God had seemed only justice punishing sin. Moreover, Staupitz gave him work, a wholesome thing for him, by arranging that he should teach philosophy in the new university of Wittenberg. Luther found the truth of God's grace to sinners in Bernard of Clairvaux. Above all he read the Bible, especially in connection with

HELPFUL
INFLUENCES

his teaching of theology at Erfurt, to which he soon went from Wittenberg.

LUTHER'S
DEVELOPMENT

ROMAN
VISIT

Luther had a long pilgrimage toward his revelation. He entered the monastery in 1505, was ordained in 1507, in 1508 went to Wittenberg and in 1509 to Erfurt, in 1511 was called to a professorship in Wittenberg, which was to be his home henceforth. In the summer of 1511, on business of his order, he made a visit to Rome which has been much misunderstood. He prayed at many churches and places sacred to saints and martyrs. He saw relics and heard unquestioningly stories of their miraculous powers. To deliver his grandfather from purgatory he climbed on his knees the Scala Santa, the staircase said to have come from Pilate's house, repeating at every step the Lord's Prayer. At the top a question flashed across his mind, "Who knows whether this is true?" But this passed away. Though many things at Rome shocked him, his faith in the church was not shaken. He returned to the monastery and his teaching. In 1512 he became doctor of theology at Wittenberg. Afterward he said that at that time he was ignorant of the gospel.

LUTHER'S
REVELATION

But late in 1512 or early in 1513, while he was reading the Epistle to the Romans in his cell, he came on the words, "The just shall live by faith." Then there burst upon his mind the truth toward which he had been groping, that salvation was his simply by trust in God through Christ, not by any works of his own. Yet he did not at once fully understand this. While he was teaching he

advanced, through reading in Augustine and Anselm and especially the Psalms and the Epistles of Paul. In his lectures on these books of the Bible he stated with growing clearness and certainty his message, that God saves sinful men through their trust in his loving-kindness declared in Christ. Lindsay pointed out that one truth inspired four great Christians, Paul, Augustine, Francis, Luther: "That trust in the all-merciful God, who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ, creates companionship with God, and that all other things are nothing in comparison with this fellowship."¹ This is the truth of justification by faith. Over against this truth stood the teaching of the medieval church that men can attain salvation by actions, works, which the divinely authorized church prescribes. But Luther was sure that his message was true, because in his long struggle and search he had come face to face with God. Out of this experience he brought the new impulse of religious life which was needed to reform the church.

For more than four years Luther worked at Wittenberg, not yet breaking with the church. He became a leader in his order, much occupied with its administration. His lectures in the university were of a novel kind, being expositions of the Scriptures instead of repetitions from fathers and doctors, and applying Scripture truth to the life of the times. They drew students to the university and townspeople to his lecture room. He preached a great deal, simply and practically and with the power of

HIS LIFE IN
WITTENBERG

¹ "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 204.

his new truth. He was coming to understand better what his truth meant in relation to the authority of the church. At length something forced him to speak out concerning this.

TETZEL'S
INDULGENCES

Into the country near Wittenberg there came in 1517 a man named Tetzel, employed by the Archbishop of Mainz to sell indulgences issued by the Pope. Many people from the town went out and bought them. An indulgence was a lightening of the pains of purgatory¹; but many thought, and in this case they were encouraged by Tetzel's advertisements of his wares to think, that by buying indulgences they obtained forgiveness. Through what was said to him in the confessional, Luther found out that the traffic in indulgences was leading people altogether astray about God and sin, and seriously weakening their moral lives. He decided that he must strike at this wrong.

THE NINETY-
FIVE THESES

In medieval universities those who wished to advocate certain opinions would post up publicly "theses," statements of their ideas, and invite all comers to debate on them. On October 31, 1517, the day before All Saints' Day, when great crowds always attended the Castle Church of Wittenberg, Luther posted on its door ninety-five theses concerning indulgences. In them he declared that the church could remit only what it had imposed, that is, sentences of discipline, that indulgences were worthless to affect souls in purgatory or remove guilt, and that the repentant Christian had his forgiveness straight from God, without any indulgences.

¹ See p. 130.

Though Luther did not fully see it, the theses were a blow at the center of the power of the church and of the Pope, its head. For they denied the church's claim of power to mediate between God and man, and confer on man God's forgiveness. Therefore, while copies of the theses were selling in Germany as fast as the printers could make them, Pope Leo X proceeded against this rebellious monk. He first summoned Luther to Rome, which would have meant death. But the Elector of Saxony, concerned for the famous professor of his university, protected him by a demand that his case be heard in Germany. There followed conferences with papal legates, which did not move Luther from his stand. On the contrary, at a debate in Leipsic to which he was challenged by a defender of the church, he declared, as the result of studies which he had been making, that the Pope had no divine authority, and that church councils were not infallible. He realized that by these statements he had broken irrevocably with the church.

Having thus come out into the open, Luther moved forward rapidly and exultantly. In an enormous literary activity he put his case before the German people, who had already shown widespread sympathy with him. One of his publications of this time was perhaps his greatest work, the appeal "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation." This was "a call to all Germany to unite against Rome." Luther denied that the Pope and the clergy had any supernatural priestly powers, thus striking at the roots of the authority

PAPAL ACTION
AGAINST
LUTHER

LUTHER'S
APPEAL TO
GERMANY

which had held Europe for centuries in fearful obedience. He asserted that all Christians are priests, having access to God by faith. He denied that the Pope only could interpret Scripture. The Scripture, he said, could be interpreted by any true believer. He described and denounced the corruptions of the papacy, especially the avarice and extortions of the Popes and the willingness of the papal court of appeal to do anything for a bribe. Finally he outlined a plan for a national German church, independent and reformed. Four thousand copies of this book were sold within a week. People began to see that here at last was the man who would bring about that reform in the church which so many desired. They saw also that there could be Christianity without obedience to the Pope; for Luther was widely known and revered as a devout and good man.

EXCOMMUNI-
CATION
THREATENED

While this book was being issued (August, 1520) there was published in Germany the papal bull of excommunication which Luther had been expecting. It commanded him and his followers to recant his heresies within sixty days, and ordered that if they did not they were to be treated as heretics—that is, arrested and put to death. All the faithful were bidden burn Luther's books, and the papal legates to Germany did burn some.

LUTHER BURNS
THE POPE'S
BULL

But burning was a game two could play at. On December 10, 1520, a notice was posted in Wittenberg by Philip Melancthon. He had

come there as professor of Greek two years before, being then only twenty-one, and had soon thrown himself into Luther's cause. This notice invited the students to attend, that day, a burning of "the impious books of the papal decrees and scholastic theologians." Before a great crowd of students, professors, and citizens, Luther threw on a fire the books, and last of all the Pope's bull. In its mingling of humor and sublime courage this whole affair was characteristic of him. Sublime indeed the courage was. A poor monk, upheld only by his faith in God, defied and laughed at the power which men had long thought was authorized of God to open and shut the doors of eternal life. A new age in history began that day.

Next month the Pope issued the threatened final sentence, excommunicating Luther and condemning him to all the penalties of heresy. It remained to give effect to this by the power of civil government, that is, to put him to death. Thus the case had to go to the Imperial Diet. The next Diet met this same year (1521) at Worms. It was the first Diet of the new emperor Charles V. The Pope was pressing him to secure Luther's condemnation, and his own religious views caused him to need little urging. Cited to appear at the Diet, Luther went, believing that he was going to his death, and unafraid. But the cheering crowds that made his long, slow journey like a royal progress showed him that he was not alone. He had been gaining friends and followers rapidly, in all classes of his people, nobles, burghers, schol-

LUTHER IS
EXCOMMUNI-
CATED AND
BROUGHT BE-
FORE THE DIET

HE NOW IS
HEAD OF A
STRONG MOVE-
MENT IN
GERMANY

LUTHER AT
WORMS

ars, the poor. When he stood before the Diet, he was no longer a solitary monk; he was the champion of a great national party demanding a German church free from Roman rule and reformed.

Brought before the Diet, he was confronted with certain books written by him, and asked if he would recant their contents. The next day he made his great answer and pleaded his cause in the presence of all of the most powerful men of his country. "Before him was the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria . . . and beside them, seated, all the Electors and the great Princes of the Empire, lay and ecclesiastical, among them four Cardinals. All round him standing . . . the Counts, Free Nobles and Knights of the Empire, and the delegates of the great cities, were closely packed together. Ambassadors . . . of almost all the countries of Europe were there to swell the crowd—ready to report the issue of this momentous day."¹ Luther spoke at length, quietly and confidently, yet somehow with a power that thrilled all hearts; and he refused to move from his position.

HIS FINAL
STAND

At the end the emperor, through an officer, put to him one question, whether he would recant his denials of certain decisions of councils—a question involving the whole matter of the authority of the church. The answer was: "It is impossible for me to recant unless I am proved to be in the wrong by the testimony of Scripture or by evident reasoning; I cannot trust either the de-

¹ Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 286.

cisions of Councils or of Popes, for it is plain that they have not only erred, but have contradicted each other. My conscience is bound to the Word of God, and it is neither safe nor honest to act against one's conscience. God help me! Amen."¹ The Diet broke up amid much confusion. The Spaniards shouted, "To the fire with him!" But the Germans gathered round Luther, "and as they passed from the hall they all at once, and Luther in the midst of them, thrust forward arms and raised hands high above their heads in the way that a German knight was accustomed to do when he had unhorsed his antagonist in the tourney."²

He was a victor indeed. After some of his staunchest supporters had left, the Diet, under pressure from the emperor, passed the Edict of Worms, outlawing Luther and declaring destruction against his sympathizers. But Germany scouted the edict, and no serious attempt was ever made to carry it out against Luther. He stood forth now as the head of a national religious movement which he had created by his brave witness for the truth as God had revealed it to him.

CONDEMNED
BUT SAFE

C. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

From about 1520 Luther's teachings spread rapidly in Germany. Most of the monks of his Augustinian order, and many of other orders left their cloisters to preach them. Many parish

SPREAD OF
LUTHERANISM

¹ Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 290.

² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

priests became Lutherans, and often their congregations followed them. A number of bishops were favorable to the new doctrines. If clergymen were not found to preach, laymen did. Luther's books had an enormous circulation and influence. Many humanists employed their trained minds in advocating this new and better Christianity. The Lutheran teachings were made plain to the common people by a great number of popular tracts and cartoons. The people of the free cities, where the way had been prepared by the work of the "Brethren"¹ in preaching evangelical religion and circulating the Bible, and by the spread of the teachings of John Hus, gave especially enthusiastic welcome to the gospel of the reformer.

The Lutheran movement spread like a revival of religion. In fact this movement (as also the Protestant Reformation everywhere) was fundamentally a revival of religion. Luther had in himself a tremendous power of religious life, and through the channel of his teachings, new yet old as Christianity, new religious life came to his people. By his great doctrine of the priesthood of all believers he freed men from the fear, and hence from the power of the medieval church, and led them to a better religion. Every man, he showed them, could have fellowship with God by faith, without the mediation of the church's priesthood. He could confess his sins to God, and receive from God forgiveness. For his salvation

LUTHER'S CEN-
TRAL DOCTRINE,
THE PRIEST-
HOOD OF ALL
BELIEVERS

¹ See pp. 165, 166.

he did not need the priests' rites, and therefore he need not fear or obey the priests. Every man could get right with God, could be justified, by faith, without conforming to the church's requirements. Every man could understand the Scriptures by the enlightenment of faith, and there learn God's will, without the teaching of the church. Through this open door into the true Christian religion Germans thronged.

While Lutheranism was advancing, the Pope was not idle. Papal diplomats strove to form an alliance of the princes who held the old religion, with a view to crushing the Reformation. Their efforts got unexpected help from the Peasants' War of 1525. This was the culmination of the long years of discontent and revolt of which we have spoken. Risings occurred in many places, and almost all Germany was in uproar. The poor peasants were crushed down again with iron hands, but their revolt left its effect on the religious situation. The spirit of the Reformation had been strong among the peasants. Therefore some of the princes concluded that the new religious ideas would bring revolution in their train, and determined to oppose them. Thus it came about that the rulers of Germany divided into two camps.

THE PEASANTS'
WAR MAKES
SOME PRINCES
HOSTILE
TO THE
REFORMATION

The party of the Reformation included others besides Lutherans. Another movement of revolt from the church had arisen in German Switzerland under the leadership of Huldreich Zwingli.¹ This had spread into southern Germany, so that

¹ See Chapter XII.

LUTHERANS
AND
ZWINGLIANS
AT THE DIET
OF 1526

some princes and free cities were under Zwingli's influence more than under Luther's. In the Diet of 1526 the Lutherans and Zwinglians prevailed, and secured a decision that each ruler might determine what the religion of his domain should be. Forthwith some princes began to reorganize the churches of their territories, with worship and preaching according to the Reformation teaching. The emperor did not oppose this, because he was then at war against the Pope and Francis I. So while its enemies quarreled, the Reformation gained.

But in the Diet of 1529, at Speyer, the Roman Catholics, as we may henceforth call them, were the stronger, because political disputes had weakened the Lutherans. Its decision forbade any further spread of Lutheranism, and gave no toleration at all to Zwinglianism. Against this the Lutheran and Zwinglian members of the Diet made a formal protest, because of which the supporters of the Reformation were henceforth often called "Protestants."

THE
PROTESTANTS

D. THE EMPEROR AND THE REFORMATION

While affairs were in this unsatisfactory state, the emperor came to Germany, for the first time since the Diet of Worms, determined to settle the religious difficulty which was convulsing his empire. He had overcome his enemies, and his hands were free. At a magnificent Diet in Augsburg, 1530, the question was discussed. As a statement of their views, the Lutherans presented the famous Augsburg Confession, which is now one of the doc-

AUGSBURG
CONFESSION

trinal standards of Lutherans everywhere. Melancthon, who had become a leader second only to Luther, was its principal author. Attempts were made by the emperor to secure a doctrinal agreement of the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, with a view to bringing the latter back into the old church. This proving hopeless, the Roman Catholic majority of the Diet decreed that after April, 1531, Protestantism was to be put down by war.

THE DIET
DECLARES WAR
ON PROT-
ESTANTISM

But it was long before the Protestants had to fight the emperor for their faith. For first the Turks, who opportunely attacked his Austrian territory, and later disagreement with the Pope, who refused to bring about the reforms in the church which the emperor demanded, stayed his hands from war against them. Meanwhile the Reformation advanced extensively, and it seemed not impossible that almost all Germany would become Lutheran. At length Charles, having failed in repeated efforts to secure a return of the Protestants, and being unwilling in his bigotry to sanction any breach in the church, prepared to crush their cause.

E. WHAT LUTHER ACCOMPLISHED IN GERMANY

Before the war came Luther died, in his sixty-third year. For nearly thirty years he had been the head of one of the greatest religious movements in history. By constant preaching and the training of preachers, by writing many books, by personal counsel and correspondence, he had given it leadership and inspiration. He had done even more by translating the whole Bible from the originals into

the language of his people. This had been the Reformation's greatest source of power. It is still the Bible of Germany. Of kingly nature, though of peasant birth, Luther had held together many strong men and kept the cause moving forward. He had made mistakes, but under God he had worked wonders. In these years he had seen "the much larger portion of the German Empire . . . won for evangelical religion—a territory to be roughly described as a great triangle, whose base was the shores of the Baltic Sea from the Netherlands on the west to the eastern limits of East Prussia, and whose apex was Switzerland."¹ Within these lines, to be sure, was some Roman Catholic territory, but outside them were some Protestant strongholds. In the churches of this broad region the gospel was preached to the people in their own tongue. In pulpits and pews were copies of Luther's German Bible. Hymns of the gospel and Psalms were sung in German. Luther himself had written some of these, by one of which, "A mighty fortress is our God," his heroic soul has inspired Christians everywhere. Schools were established in connection with the churches, for one of Luther's great interests was the education of the children of his people. Over the churches were educated and faithful ministers. Church government had been reorganized, each prince controlling the church in his territory. Within thirty years the Christian church in Germany had been reformed as no one would have thought possible.

¹ Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, pp. 386, 387.

F. THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG

The emperor's war against Protestantism began in 1546. At first he was victorious on all sides, but before long Maurice of Saxony drove him out of Germany. Disheartened by this and other misfortunes, Charles put his German affairs into the hands of his brother Ferdinand. Under his rule there was made at the Diet of 1555 the Peace of Augsburg, which provided that every ruler should decide what the religion of his land should be. By this, Lutheranism was at last acknowledged as legal within the German Empire, and the fruits of the great German revolt from Rome were made secure.

G. LUTHER'S WORK OUTSIDE OF GERMANY

Luther's influence was felt in many countries besides his own. From the time he posted the Ninety-five Theses the story of his defiance of the church spread far and wide. His writings were very extensively circulated, in spite of the efforts of inquisitors. Thus he had power in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, England, Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and even in Spain and Italy. In some of these countries movements of religious reform had started before he stood forth as a reformer. They might have come to something without him. But the inspiration which he gave greatly strengthened all of them. Calvin's influence, rather than Luther's, dominated in the Reformation in several of these countries. The English Reformation was worked out on its own lines. But in the Scan-

LUTHER'S
INFLUENCE IN
EUROPE

dinavian lands the Reformation was a purely Lutheran movement.

LUTHERAN
REFORMATION
IN SCAN-
DINAVIA

In Denmark Lutheran preachers, at first German and later native, worked from 1519. The national church was made Protestant and Lutheran in 1536, by action of Christian III, king of Denmark and Norway, and of a National Assembly. The church in Norway was made Lutheran in 1539 by royal authority. Three Swedes who had studied at Wittenberg came back to their own country in 1520 and preached Lutheranism with great results. Seven years later the national Diet decreed that the church in Sweden should be reformed.

In Hungary a strong Lutheran church grew up in the sixteenth century, though there was a still stronger Calvinistic church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What power did Charles V have in Germany? What were his religious views?
2. Describe Luther's life, to his entrance into the monastery. Why did he become a monk?
3. Describe his spiritual struggle and progress toward his revelation.
4. Explain what justification by faith is. What is the opposite idea?
5. Describe Luther's visit to Rome.
6. How much was Luther known before the Reformation?
7. Why did he attack Tetzel's selling of indulgences? What was the date of the Ninety-five Theses? What did they assert?
8. What did Luther say in the book "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"? How did the German people feel toward him?

9. How did Luther treat the Pope's bull of excommunication?

10. Why did Luther appear at the Diet of Worms? How did he state his position there? What was the outcome of his appearance at the Diet?

11. Describe the spread of Lutheranism.

12. How did the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers set people free from the medieval church?

13. Who were the first "Protestants"?

14. What action did Charles V take toward the Reformation?

15. How far in Germany did the Lutheran movement spread? What changes in worship and church government resulted from it?

16. What was the outcome of Charles V's war against the Protestants? What were the terms of the Peace of Augsburg?

17. Describe Luther's influence outside Germany.

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," Section II, 4-6.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period VI, sections i, ii, v, vi.

T. M. Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, on all subjects of the chapter.

Preserved Smith: "The Age of the Reformation," chs. II, X-XII.

Lucas: "The Renaissance and the Reformation," Book II, Part VII.

McGiffert: "Martin Luther."

Fife: "Young Luther."

MacKinnon: "Luther and the Reformation," especially Vol. I, on Luther to the indulgence controversy.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: II

(A. D. 1517-1648)

II. THE REFORMED SIDE OF PROTESTANTISM

Besides Germany, all the other nations of western Europe, including even Spain and Italy, received religious awakenings, varying in strength, in the sixteenth century. All of them had been more or less prepared for the Reformation by the same forces which prepared Germany for it—protest against conditions in the church, patriotic jealousy of papal interference in national religious affairs, and the new life of the Renaissance. In Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Scotland and England religious revolutions took place and Protestant churches were formed. All of these, except that of England,¹ are called the “Reformed” churches. They had in common certain features by which they differed from the Lutheran churches. Here we see the two great divisions of Protestantism, the Reformed and the Lutheran. What their differences were we shall find as we go on.

¹ The English Reformation had important connections with the Reformed side of Protestantism, but in other important respects stands by itself.

A. THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND UNDER
ZWINGLI

Switzerland in the sixteenth century was a confederation of thirteen little self-governing states, called "cantons." Its people had a strong spirit of independence and of democracy.

When Martin Luther was fifty-two days old, Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531) was born in Wildhaus, a hamlet in eastern Switzerland. Because of the interest taken in him by his uncle, the parish priest, he had a first-rate schooling and then went to the universities of Vienna and Basel. His education was received largely from humanist teachers, men representing the new learning and new thinking of the Renaissance, and he was molded in all his intellectual life by these influences. So he grew up to be of keen, open mind, eagerly welcoming the new ideas that were abroad on all subjects. Here we see a difference between him and Luther, who was educated chiefly under medieval influences, and hence was less inclined to radical changes. Another difference between them was that Zwingli had in his youth no deep religious experience. He became a priest but only because that was natural to one of clerical family connections.

At Glarus, his first parish, he continued to study the Bible and theology in the light of the new learning. When Erasmus' Greek New Testament came out in 1516, borrowing a copy, he wrote the Epistles of Paul all out by hand, and constantly read this volume. A residence as priest at Einsiedeln, a great resort of pilgrims, bred in him deep disgust

ZWINGLI'S
YOUTH

HIS MOVE-
MENT TOWARD
EVANGELICAL
IDEAS

with the senseless superstitions encouraged by the church. Thus during more than ten years he was moving gradually toward evangelical or Reformation ideas, because he was finding them more satisfactory to his mind than the teachings of the medieval church. In these same years Luther in the Erfurt monastery was moving toward the same goal by another path, that is, by making practical trial of the older teachings and finding them powerless to save his soul.

In 1519 Zwingli's growing fame as a preacher caused him to be called to the important town of Zurich. In this same year he first came under Luther's influence, which greatly strengthened him in his convictions; and his religious life was deepened during a severe illness. He now boldly preached his beliefs, and in a book published in 1522 he openly revolted from the papacy. Because of the disturbances created by his opponents, the Council of Zurich held a public disputation in order to settle the religious controversy. For this Zwingli wrote a statement of his views. This contained the fundamental principle of the Reformation—the priesthood of all believers. Zwingli said that men are saved by faith in God through Christ, not by works required by the church. He exalted the authority of the Bible above that of the church. He attacked the primacy of the Pope, the mass, and priestly celibacy. In the debate on these points Zwingli had it all his own way. The Council voted in his favor and encouraged him to go farther.

By this action the canton of Zurich, as well as Zwingli, broke with the papacy.

Zwingli then went ahead with the reformation of religion in the canton. He moved slowly, explaining his plans carefully to the people in sermons, and securing the approval of the government for all changes. Gradually worship and religious customs and preaching were altered to suit the Reformation conception of Christianity. The climax came in 1525, in the holding, by order of the Council, of a communion service instead of the mass in the Great Minster. The Reformation had been accomplished in Zurich. Under Zwingli's leadership greater changes in worship were made than under Luther's. Luther, naturally conservative, changed no more than evangelical religious ideas required; for instance, the altar cross remained on the communion table. Zwingli, altogether a man of the new age, wished to remove all that savored of the old religious order.

THE REFORMATION IN
ZURICH

From Zurich the Reformation spread rapidly over most of German Switzerland. Zwingli's influence did much, but in every canton men arose to take the lead, and the people welcomed them. In every one the Reformation was accomplished by action of a government representing the people, as in Zurich, and its form was in general governed by Zwingli's ideas. His influence spread also in southern Germany, as we have seen. Thus we have the Zwinglian Reformation, side by side with the Lutheran.

SPREAD OF THE
REFORMATION
IN GERMAN
SWITZERLAND

After the historic "Protest" at Speyer in 1529,¹ it was evident that the Protestants would some day have to fight for their faith. Hence efforts were made to unite the Lutheran and Zwinglian princes, cities and cantons of Germany and Switzerland in a defensive league. An obstacle appeared in Luther's objection to certain of Zwingli's ideas. In the hope of getting rid of this, a conference of the two leaders and some of their friends was arranged. They agreed on fourteen out of fifteen articles stating the chief matters of the Christian faith, but differed on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther had, of course, rejected the medieval idea that the bread and wine are changed into the flesh and blood of Christ. But he held that "the true body and the true blood of Christ are received by the communicants, . . . in and together with the bread and wine."² Zwingli held that the sacrament is a memorial of the Lord's death and that his presence is only spiritual. Luther was so much opposed to this that he even felt that he could not approve the alliance of Lutherans and Zwinglians.

DISAGREEMENT
OF LUTHER
AND ZWINGLI

DIVISION OF
LUTHERAN AND
REFORMED

Here began the first of the many divisions of Protestantism, into the Lutheran and the "Reformed" branches. Later the Lutherans and Zwinglians of Germany united for a time in the war against Charles V. But these two Reformation movements never joined. While other things separating Lutherans and Reformed developed later, this dif-

¹ See p. 194.

² Sohm: "Outlines of Church History," p. 176.

ference over the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was enough to cause the permanent division.

Zwingli's noble death came only two years after this conference with Luther. War arose between the four Swiss cantons which had remained Romanist and the Protestant cantons. In the second of two short campaigns Zwingli, who with his patriotic ardor had gone into the field, fell in battle (1531). Though by no means so great a man as Luther, he was a brave and faithful servant of the gospel, and a wise, inspiring leader. He did an abiding work for the reformation of Christianity in his country.

ZWINGLI'S
DEATH

B. THE GENEVAN REFORMATION UNDER CALVIN

Not long after Zwingli's loss a far greater man came to take the leadership of Swiss Protestantism. John Calvin (1509-1564) was born twenty-six years after Luther, so that he belongs to the second generation of the Reformation. He was a Frenchman, born at Noyon in Picardy. His father was a prosperous lawyer, associated with the nobility and higher clergy of his district. John had his early education in the household of a noble family along with its sons, and this social training made him "always the reserved, polished French gentleman." Being destined for the priesthood, he was sent to Paris when he was fourteen, for studies preparatory to a theological training. Five years later his father decided that his son should study law, which he did at Orléans and Bourges. His father died in 1531, and Calvin determined to follow his own desires and prepare himself to be a man of letters. Ac-

CALVIN'S
YOUTH

cordingly, he returned to Paris to study under its eminent humanist teachers.

HIS CONVER-
SION TO PROT-
ESTANTISM

Just when and where and how Calvin became a Protestant we do not know. The change was the result of the influences of the new learning and of Luther's teachings. It came suddenly, and was accompanied by a great deepening of his religious life. He was a declared Protestant in 1533, and late in that year, along with other Protestants, fled from Paris before a sudden outbreak of persecution.

THE
INSTITUTES

During an unsettled life of three years he stayed awhile at Basel, and there published a book which gave him at twenty-six a position as one of the leaders of Protestantism. This was his famous "Institutes." In this first edition it was a small book, not the theological treatise that it later became, but a systematic statement of Christian truth as held by Protestants, intended for popular use. Hitherto there had been nothing of this kind. Calvin's book was very useful to the Protestants as an instrument of their efforts to win converts, and as a vindication of their beliefs from false charges about them.

GENEVA BEFORE
CALVIN

On a journey in 1536, Calvin spent a night in Geneva. This was a city of about thirteen thousand people, prosperous, but of low moral tone. The Reformation had recently triumphed in it, under the leadership of the gallant French preacher, William Farel. The city had won its freedom in a war against its bishop, who was also its feudal lord, and at the same time had declared itself Protestant. But Farel saw what had been done was

only a beginning, and that the loose-living and disorderly city urgently needed thorough constructive work in religion and morals. He recognized that he was not the man to direct this. While he was anxiously wondering what to do, he heard that the distinguished young French scholar and reformer Calvin was in the city for the night. Calvin's great intellectual gifts marked him out as the man whom Geneva needed. But his desire to continue in a scholar's life made him refuse Farel's entreaties. Only by a prayer that God would curse him if he refused the call of the city's need did Farel prevail upon him to devote himself to work there.

Calvin's work in Geneva soon met disaster. Many of the people were not at heart in favor of the Reformation, and the opposition to him and Farel resulted in their banishment. Calvin then spent three years in Strasburg, as pastor of a church of French Protestants, exiled by persecution. Here he became acquainted with many Reformation leaders, and won recognition as one of the strongest among them.

In Geneva things went from bad to worse. The better people of the city, who had learned his worth while he was with them, begged Calvin to return. Very reluctantly he took, in 1541, a place as one of the preachers of the city, the only office he ever held. Though he came unwillingly, it was with a clear purpose to make Geneva a model Christian city, a community whose life was actually ruled by Christianity. But this was not to be for Geneva's sake solely or chiefly. Calvin meant that the city should be so Christianized in order that it might be a source

HIS FIRST
MINISTRY IN
GENEVA AND
BANISHMENT

HIS RETURN
AND PURPOSE

of strength to Protestantism everywhere. He saw that the Roman Catholic Church would make a hard fight to regain what it had so far lost, and felt himself a general in a great campaign, with a duty to the whole cause.

REORGANIZA-
TION OF
THE CHURCH

The means by which he proposed to make Geneva a Christian community were a thoroughly reorganized church, laws expressing Biblical morality and a first-rate educational system. In regard to the church we need to remember that the Protestant Church of Geneva included the whole population. Before Calvin came the city had decided to be Protestant. Thus the reorganization of the church would affect all the people. Calvin's plans for the church provided for a carefully chosen, educated ministry, faithful in duties clearly marked out for it. By this he really created the office of the modern Protestant minister. He provided also for the effective exercise of discipline in the church, by the consistory. This was composed of the elders, whose duty it was to watch over the conduct of the people, and the ministers. He further arranged for the administration of charity in the city by the deacons.

EDUCATIONAL
SYSTEM

Calvin's plans for education were inspired by his conviction that true religion and education are inseparably associated. The maintenance of the reformed faith, he saw, required an educated people as well as an educated ministry. His plans issued in the establishment of a complete free school system, crowned by the Academy, an institution of university grade, in which courses in theology were

given. Calvin was untiring in his efforts to get the best teachers for the schools of Geneva, and they soon became famous. To the Academy many foreigners came to study theology, and went back to be Protestant ministers.

During Calvin's ministry of twenty-three years he saw his purpose for Geneva in great part accomplished. The once dissolute and turbulent city became notable for order, for intelligent, earnest Christianity, and for wholesome moral conditions. These results were not attained by Calvin and his fellow workers without difficulty. Much opposition was aroused by the strict discipline of the consistory. At one time Calvin's work seemed near ruin, but his iron persistence and courage did not fail. His final victory was due partly to the many Protestant refugees from persecution in other countries who became citizens of Geneva. For the last nine years of his life he was undisputed ruler of the city.

CALVIN'S
SUCCESS

Calvin's part in the execution for heresy of the Spanish physician Servetus has prevented some people from doing justice to his great work. For denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, Servetus was condemned to death, Calvin being one of his judges, and burned at the stake. Like almost everyone else in his time, Calvin had inherited from the Middle Ages the belief that heresy ought to be punished by death. We should be disobeying our Christian conscience if we did not condemn this belief and Calvin's action on it in this case. Yet we should remember that at the time his action was generally approved in Geneva and among Prot-

CALVIN AND
SERVETUS

estants everywhere. Liberty of conscience was largely a result of the Reformation, but it was slow in coming. Of the great Protestant leaders of Calvin's century only one, William of Orange, believed fully in religious freedom.

BENEFITS FOR
PROTESTANT-
ISM FROM
CALVIN'S
WORK IN
GENEVA

By his work in Geneva, Calvin did three things for Protestantism in general. The moral life of the city was an example of what the reformed faith could do, and hence a power to spread it. Geneva was a citadel of refuge for those persecuted because of the Reformation. To this free city they came from France, Holland, Germany, Scotland and England, and found a congenial home. It was also a place of training for Protestant leaders. In its Academy and its general life were produced learned, fearless, devout ministers who went as missionaries of the Reformation into the countries where it had not yet prevailed. Many of the refugees returned to their countries strengthened by their stay in Geneva and their association with Calvin. One of these was John Knox.

HIS OTHER
SERVICES
TO PROT-
ESTANTISM

By what he did in Geneva, and in two other ways, Calvin gave untold inspiration to Protestantism everywhere and exerted a mighty influence upon its development. The second way was that of personal relations with Protestant leaders in many places, kept up mostly by an enormous correspondence. He was the active head of the Reformation in France, though he was never in the country after he was twenty-seven. He did similar work for other countries. The third way was that of his books, especially the "Institutes," which had a

great circulation. Thus it came about that Calvin's ideas ruled in the Reformation movements of France, Holland, Scotland and parts of Germany, and had much influence in that of England. When we think of how much the world owes to the Protestants of these countries, we have a means of estimating its debt to John Calvin.

C. THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

Early in the sixteenth century some of the religious ideas characteristic of the Reformation were expressed by French humanists who were enthusiastic students of the Scripture. But when Luther's books began to circulate in France, persecution fell upon all utterance of views like his. After some wavering, King Francis I in 1538 settled down to a steady, relentless campaign against Protestant teaching. About the same time Calvin became captain of the Protestant movement in his country, directing it through letters and through many young preachers sent from Geneva. In spite of constant bloodthirsty repression, the Reformation spread into almost every part of France. In 1559 a national Protestant church was organized. Its system of government was copied the next year by the Scottish reformers, and has spread to all the Presbyterian churches.

RISE OF THE REFORMATION

About this time the Protestant movement changed its character somewhat. Many of the higher aristocracy had been won for the Reformation. These great nobles, some of them princes of the blood royal, would not meekly submit to persecution, and

THE HUGUENOTS

WARS OF
RELIGION

began to talk of armed revolt. Under their leadership the Protestant movement became not only an endeavor to spread evangelical religion, but also a struggle against the government for liberty to profess such religion. This change was marked by the name "Huguenot,"¹ henceforth borne by the French Protestants. War broke out in 1562, the Huguenots under Admiral Coligny and the Prince Condé fighting against the queen regent, Catherine de Medici. This was the first of the eight "Wars of Religion," which covered more than thirty years, and almost ruined France. The Roman Catholic party was kept cruelly determined all through by the Jesuits and King Philip II of Spain.

ST. BAR-
THOLOMEW

Their spirit was shown in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572. In a time of peace many Huguenot nobles were gathered in Paris for the wedding of one of their chiefs, Henry of Navarre. In an attack made by night, at the instigation of Catherine de Medici, several thousand of them, including Admiral Coligny and most of the other leaders, were killed. Massacres were ordered in other parts of France, and altogether seventy thousand perished. The Pope sent congratulations to Catherine, and both thought they were done with the Huguenots.

¹ "Huguenot" was at first a nickname applied to the French Protestants by the Roman Catholics. Its origin was this: The Protestants of Tours used to meet by night at the Gate of King Hugo. The people of the town believed that King Hugo's spirit walked by night. So a monk said in a sermon that the Protestants ought to be called Huguenots, meaning kinsmen of Hugo, because like him they went out only at night.

But even from this fearful blow they rallied, and they fought on until in 1598 the wars ended with the celebrated Edict of Nantes, which gave a large measure of toleration to Protestantism.

EDICT OF
NANTES

D. THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands were hereditary possessions of Charles V, so that he had full opportunity in them to show his hostility to the Reformation. When Lutheran views began to spread, he established the Inquisition, which soon showed results in the burning of two men in 1523, the first martyrs of the Reformation faith. For more than thirty years he fought Protestantism, killing thousands of his subjects. Still it lived and grew. Calvin's influence became dominant in it through the work of Reformed preachers from France and Geneva. Here as everywhere Calvinism proved most enduring. In 1555 Charles was succeeded in the Netherlands and in Spain by his son Philip II, who was even more bigoted and cruel. He so ruled that in a few years many in the provinces were ready to rebel against the Spanish tyranny which was violating the liberties and draining the wealth of their country, and butchering its people for their faith. Not all of these patriots were Protestants, but most of them were. Thus the Protestant cause in the Netherlands became largely identified with the cause of national liberty.

THE EARLY
REFORMATION
AND PER-
SECUTIONS
IN THE
NETHERLANDS

The leader of this patriot party was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, a German, but also one of the great nobles of the Netherlands. Finding

WILLIAM OF
ORANGE

that Philip II was collecting troops to crush resistance to his rule, he retired for a while to Germany, to prepare for the war. He had been a Roman Catholic, though without bigotry, and in fact without much interest in religion. He now became a Protestant, and he gave himself much to the study of the Bible. This, and the thought of the martyrdoms which he had seen in the Netherlands, made him a profoundly religious man. Henceforth his course was ruled by the conviction that he was an instrument of God to save his adopted people from pitiless Spanish oppression. His nobility—and there was no nobler man in his century—lay in the fidelity with which he obeyed this call of God, and the unfailing largeness of his heart and mind. Alone among the religious leaders of his day, he strove all his life to secure freedom of religion for men of all creeds.

THE WAR
AGAINST
SPAIN

In 1567 the Spanish army came into the Netherlands, led by that monster of cruelty, the Duke of Alva. His slaughter of Protestants irreparably weakened the cause of the Reformation in the southern Netherlands. The next year William the Silent began the war of liberation, whose tale of indomitable valor and unsparing sacrifice is one of the noblest chapters of all history. Early in the war he saw that his cause could not triumph in the southern Netherlands, where the backbone of resistance to Spain had been broken by the stamping out of Protestantism. These southern provinces formed the beginnings of modern Belgium, a Roman Catholic country.

But the Protestants of the north had no yielding in them, and with them William threw in his lot. The turning point in the war came when the terrible siege of Leyden was relieved by the cutting of the dikes, letting the sea and the fighting ships of the Dutch sailors come up to the walls. Even after this there were desperate straits, but William went on unconquerably to build up a free nation. Though he fell in 1584 by the hand of an assassin, his example inspired his people "to maintain the good cause by God's help without sparing gold or blood." The good cause came to victory in 1609.

**VICTORY OF
HOLLAND**

So arose the powerful Protestant nation of Holland. Its national church was formed early in the war, with a confession of faith and a form of government following the teaching of Calvin. From this church is descended the Reformed Church of America, sometimes called the Dutch Reformed Church.

Early in the seventeenth century there was a sharp theological difference among the Protestants of Holland. Some of the Dutch divines stated in the most extreme terms the Calvinistic idea that God predestines some men to be saved and others to be lost, and put more emphasis on this than Calvin himself had put. A party arose which rejected this idea, and asserted that Christ died for all, and that God's purpose from the beginning was to save all believers in Christ. This was called the Arminian party, after Arminius, one of its leaders. To settle this dispute there was held in

**THE
ARMINIANS**

1618 the Synod of Dort, which decided against the Arminians. But their teachings gained power in Holland, and spread widely in England and later in America.

E. THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Scotland in the sixteenth century was an independent kingdom, much more friendly with France than with England. Its clergy had been peculiarly unworthy and incompetent. Hence it is no wonder that the Reformation teaching was eagerly received, in spite of the opposition of church and government and of some burnings of Protestant preachers.

KNOX'S EARLY LIFE

The great reformer of Scotland, John Knox, came upon the scene about 1546. Of his life before that we know little more than that he was born in 1515, entered the priesthood, was tutor to some sons of noble families, and then the companion of George Wishart, one of the martyred Protestants. His bold preaching of the gospel of the Reformation in 1546 led to his being captured by a French force sent to the help of the Scottish Government. For nineteen months he endured the living death of a galley slave in France. He spent several years in England while the Reformation was in progress under Edward VI, greatly distinguishing himself as a preacher. On the outbreak of the persecution under Mary he fled to the continent. He spent some time in Geneva, where he was closely associated with Calvin. In traveling about he became acquainted with many of the continental Protestant leaders and their work.

Meanwhile the Reformation was moving forward somewhat in Scotland, under the leadership of certain noblemen, called the "Lords of the Congregation." When Knox returned in 1559 to take the lead he found them ready to fight for the liberty of their faith against the Queen Regent. With French troops to help her, she would have conquered, had not Knox got English help from Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, who saw how necessary it was to have a Protestant Scotland as neighbor to a Protestant England. In 1560 an English fleet and army drove out the French, amid the rejoicing of the Scottish people.

Now the field was clear for Knox and his companions, and they labored mightily. Knox preached constantly and with fiery eloquence in St. Giles', Edinburgh, strengthening the cause with every word. Meanwhile a Scottish Reformed Church was organized with great rapidity, under his direction. He, with a few other ministers, wrote the noble "Scots Confession." This the Parliament adopted as the creed of the national church, at the same time renouncing the authority of the Pope and forbidding mass. Knox was the chief author also of the Book of Discipline, which provided for a Presbyterian form of government in the church, following the plan of the French Protestant church. In accordance with this, the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in this same year, 1560. The nation, in all classes, welcomed the new order and the Reformation was accomplished, though not yet with full legality.

KNOX'S
RETURN TO
SCOTLAND

THE
REFORMATION
ACCOMPLISHED

KNOX AND
QUEEN MARY

But what had been won had to be defended. In 1561 Mary, Queen of Scots, came from France to reign in her own country, openly determined to reëstablish Roman Catholicism. In this purpose she nearly succeeded. Her failure was due partly to her own sinful folly, which caused general indignation against her, but more to the constancy of Knox. Against the queen and the nobles whom she won over he upheld the Protestant cause, increasingly supported by the people. In 1567, after Mary's abdication, the Reformation was legally confirmed.

THE CONTEST
FOR PRESBY-
TERIANISM;
MELVILLE

After the battle for Protestantism had been won, came a battle for Presbyterianism. Queen Mary's son, James VI, later James I of England, tried to force the Scottish Church to have bishops. He saw that a Presbyterian church government fostered the spirit of liberty among the people. Also some of the nobles who sided with the king thought that the introduction of bishops would give them a chance at the great lands which had belonged to the medieval bishops. Andrew Melville was the bold leader of the Scottish Presbyterians against the king. Because of his efforts the Church of Scotland received a complete Presbyterian form of government, which had not been fully worked out at the Reformation. But later the king succeeded, and the Church of Scotland had bishops from 1610 until the days of the Covenant.¹

F. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN GERMANY

We have seen that there were many Zwinglian

¹ See p. 228.

Protestants in Germany, especially in the south. Here was the beginning of the Reformed Church in Germany. When Calvin's influence was going forth from Geneva, Lutherans in some districts preferred to follow him rather than Luther. This occurred in large measure in the Palatinate (in the Rhine valley), whose ruler, the Elector Frederick III, was a deeply religious man and a strong Calvinist. Thus the number of the Reformed of Germany was much enlarged. Their chief creed, the famous Heidelberg Catechism, written by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, was published in 1563 by the Elector, as the creed of his country. From the Reformed of Germany is descended the Reformed Church in the United States, sometimes called the German Reformed Church.

G. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN HUNGARY

During the sixteenth century Protestant teachings spread widely in Hungary. There came to be many Lutherans and Calvinists, the latter more numerous. In spite of obstacles from political disorder a strong Reformed Church grew up.

H. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES

Besides the movements described in this chapter Reformed Protestantism includes to a considerable extent the Reformation in England. Reformed influences from the continent were strong in England. In particular Puritanism belongs to Reformed or Calvinistic Protestantism.

Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism agreed in

the central principle of the Reformation, the priesthood of all believers. But there were differences. Reformed Protestantism developed in those parts of Europe in which there were more intellectual progress, due to humanism, and more political freedom. Hence it was more thoroughgoing in its departure from the medieval church. This more radical reformation gave it the name Reformed. The basic principle of Reformed Protestantism was that the will of God, taught in the Bible, should be done. The main object of the Christian, it was taught, was to bring about the fulfillment of God's purpose in life. But Lutheranism taught that the Christian's main object was to maintain his trust in God. Therefore Lutheranism tended to be quietist, Reformed Christianity to be activist. The chief function of the church, according to Lutheranism, was to give the gospel and the sacraments. According to Reformed teaching it was to realize the will of God in individuals and society. This explains why the Reformed churches exerted a stronger influence in political and social life than the Lutheran.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What were the Reformed churches?
2. How did Zwingli come to adopt Reformation ideas?
3. Describe the Reformation in Zurich. How far did the Zwinglian movement spread?
4. What caused the separation of the Lutherans and Zwinglians?
5. Describe Calvin's early life.
6. Describe his reformation of society in Geneva.
7. What three things did Calvin do for Protestantism in general by his work in Geneva?

8. In what other ways did he serve the Protestant cause?
9. Who were the Huguenots? How did the Wars of Religion in France end?
10. Describe the character of William of Orange.
11. Describe the war of the Netherlands against Spain and its results.
12. Describe Knox's life to the Scottish Reformation.
13. Describe the formation of the Scottish Reformed Church.
14. How did Calvin's influence affect the formation of the French and Dutch Reformed Churches?
15. How did the German Reformed Church originate?
16. State the distinctive qualities of Reformed Protestantism.

READING

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period VI, sections iii, vii, viii, x, xii, xv.

T. M. Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, Book III, on all subjects of this chapter except those of Sections F and G.

Lucas: "The Renaissance and the Reformation," Book II, Part IX.

S. M. Jackson: "Huldreich Zwingli."

Reyburn: "John Calvin."

Cowan: "John Knox."

R. Putnam: "William the Silent."

CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: III

(A. D. 1517-1648)

III. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

INFLUENCES
PREPARING FOR
THE
REFORMATION

Long before Henry VIII broke with the Pope, several forces were preparing the English people for the Reformation. The most important was "Lollardy," keeping alive Wyclif's teachings.¹ Beside this, there were the preaching of reform in the church by humanists such as Colet,² the spread of Luther's books and teachings in some circles, and the extensive though forbidden circulation of Tyndale's New Testament, published in 1525.

A. HENRY VIII

THE QUESTION
OF THE MAR-
RIAGE OF
HENRY VIII

It misrepresents the case to say, as is sometimes said, that Henry VIII revolted against the Pope because he wanted a new wife. Grave questions of national welfare were involved. English statesmen were much troubled by the fact that there was no male heir to the crown in their country, which had never been ruled by a queen. There was doubt as to whether Henry's marriage with Queen Catherine was legal, according to church law. Thus

¹ See p. 170.

² See p. 177.

there was some justification for his request that the Pope annul the marriage. But before this request was presented, Henry put himself in a very bad light by a sudden infatuation with Anne Boleyn, who was quite unworthy to be queen of England.

When the Pope, for political reasons, refused the request, King Henry, who never brooked resistance to his will, determined to take England out from under papal rule. From the Archbishop of Canterbury he got a decision that his marriage with Catherine was illegal and that with Anne legal. This defiance brought from Rome a threat of excommunication. Henry's answer was an act of Parliament in 1534, declaring the king to be the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and a declaration by the obedient clergy that the Pope had no supremacy in England.

HENRY'S
BREACH WITH
THE POPE

So far, nothing had been done toward a real reformation of religion. During Henry's reign not a great deal was accomplished in this direction. When he died (1547) the Church of England still had in its creed the chief doctrines of the Roman Church. The situation in the church agreed with the views of Englishmen generally. They would no more obey an Italian bishop in their own church affairs. But in spite of considerable growth of Reformation teachings, most of them still held the old religious ideas.

CONDITIONS
BROUGHT
ABOUT BY
HIS ACTION

The power of these ideas had been weakened, however, by two things done in Henry's reign. One was the royal order that in every church "one

FORCES OF RELIGIOUS REFORM; (1) BIBLES IN THE CHURCHES

whole Bible of the largest volume in English" should be placed where the people could easily read it. The Bible generally used consisted chiefly of Tyndale's translation from the originals. Tyndale's has been the basis of all later English Bibles, and a large part of his marvelous language remains in the most recent versions. The other act hostile to medieval religion was the closing of the monasteries and the seizing of their vast property.

(2) SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES

B. EDWARD VI

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION

The next reign saw the Church of England rapidly made Protestant by the noblemen who ruled for the boy king, Edward VI. Within five years there were issued a first and a second Book of Common Prayer, changing the worship of the church in accordance with Reformation ideas. Acts of Parliament required all persons to attend this Protestant worship. Meanwhile Reformation teachings were spreading among the people, but not fast enough to keep up with the changes made by the government.

C. MARY

MARY'S ATTEMPT TO RESTORE ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN CHURCH

Then came the reaction under Queen Mary. Her one desire was to put England back where it had been before Henry VIII's action, to restore it to the Roman Church. All the acts of her predecessors in church affairs were undone. Protestantism was savagely attacked, especially in the persons of its leaders. The English people, who were not accustomed to persecution as some con-

tinental nations were, saw some of their most eminent and godly men suffer agonizing death for their faith. The most distinguished victims were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. This persecution did what changes of laws and prayer books had not done—it substantially strengthened Protestantism in England. “Be of good cheer, Master Ridley,” said Latimer as the flames leaped up around them at Oxford, “we shall this day light such a candle in England as by God’s grace shall never be put out.” It was a true prophecy. Many of the English people rejected a form of religion that caused such outrages. When Mary died after five years’ endeavor to make England Roman Catholic, she had made it considerably more Protestant.

RESULT
OF HER
PERSECUTION

D. ELIZABETH

Mary’s successor, the great Elizabeth, at once showed her purpose to be a Protestant, and a Protestant national church was speedily organized. A Book of Common Prayer was introduced, which is still used without substantial change. A Protestant creed was adopted, the Thirty-nine Articles, inclining to Calvinism rather than to Lutheranism. No change was made in church government, the episcopal organization which had come down from the medieval church being retained. This Church of England was of course a state church. All these changes were made by Parliament, and the queen became the head of the church. With its Protestant church, and with its swiftly growing

THE SETTLE-
MENT UNDER
ELIZABETH

power and wealth, England soon became one of the chief bulwarks of the Protestant cause.

E. THE PURITANS

In the formation of the Church of England the ruling idea was to make no more changes than were required by the fundamental ideas of Protestantism. This was because Queen Elizabeth, who dominated all that was done, wished to pursue a middle course, so as to please the greatest possible number of her people. The English Reformation was thus conservative, retaining the old church government and much of the old form of worship. But a strong party in England urgently desired much greater changes. Many of its members had fled during Mary's persecution to Geneva and other places on the Continent, and there had come under the influence of Protestant movements going much farther from the old order than the English movement had gone. These men were nicknamed "Puritans." They insisted that the worship of the Church of England should be freed from many things, vestments and furnishings and ceremonies, that had been kept from the medieval order. They were opposed to church government by bishops. Many of them favored the Presbyterian form; some held that each congregation of Christians should be independent, without any general government, and hence were called Independents, or (later) Congregationalists. The Puritans also demanded that a strict discipline should be enforced in the Church of England, to rid it of unworthy

DESIRE FOR
MORE RADICAL
REFORMATION

clergymen and laymen. They were themselves men of strict morals, they were very firm in their convictions, and they were great readers of the Bible. In theology they were followers of Calvin.

The Puritans did not wish to leave the church of their nation, and in fact could not do so, for the law required all persons to attend the services of the Church of England. What they wished was to remold the church according to their ideas. During Elizabeth's reign they vigorously agitated their views, and grew constantly stronger. They hoped much of the next sovereign, James I, but got from him only the ordering of a revision of the Bible, whence resulted the wonderful "King James Version" of 1611. During the last years of James's reign and during all of that of his son, Charles I, the policy of the government in church matters was dictated by Archbishop Laud. He believed that church government by bishops was divinely authorized. He insisted on establishing everywhere a kind of worship containing many mediæval elements, and hateful to the Puritans. He was an intolerant, tyrannical man, and did his best to suppress Puritanism, not hesitating to use cruelty and imprisonment. Many Puritans, despairing of ever seeing the national church what they wished it to be, went to America for freedom to carry out their ideas.

But Puritanism steadily advanced. This was due partly to general Bible-reading, beginning about 1580 and steadily growing for more than half a century. "England became the people of

PURITANISM
UNDER
ELIZABETH,
JAMES I,
CHARLES I

GROWTH OF
PURITANISM

a book, and that book was the Bible." In that age, when there were no newspapers or magazines, and far fewer books than now, the Bible formed much the larger part of the reading of the people. Because of this, a deep religious and moral earnestness spread in their life. The general spirit of the nation thus became more and more like that of the Puritans. Another reason for their increasing strength was that in the great struggle of the people against the tyranny of James I and Charles I they stood firm for constitutional government.

REVOLT OF
SCOTLAND
AGAINST THE
RELIGIOUS
POLICY OF
CHARLES I

The chain of events which brought Puritanism into control of England began in Scotland. Charles I was king of both countries, as James I had been. Under Laud's influence, he tried to force on the Church of Scotland a prayer book like that of the Church of England, containing many things which the Scotch hated as "popish." By this folly he roused Scotland to united resistance. The famous Covenant was framed, pledging its signers to maintain the national church as it was established at the Reformation. The Covenant was signed in 1638 at a great gathering in Edinburgh, amid wild enthusiasm, and then sent through the country for more signatures. In pursuance of it, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that year deposed the bishops whom James I had forced on the church, thus restoring pure Presbyterianism. Then a Scottish army crossed the border into England, in open rebellion. By doing so it won a great victory for English liberty. For King Charles, having no money for war

against the rebels, was forced, after years of governing illegally without a Parliament, to call one.

The "Long Parliament," which met in 1640, represented the England of the time by being strongly Puritan. Thus the Puritans at last had a chance to remold the Church of England as they desired. The story of how they used this power belongs to the next period.

PURITANS IN
CONTROL OF
ENGLAND

IV. THE ANABAPTISTS

Beside the Lutheran and the Reformed there was a third general Reformation movement, that of the Anabaptists. The religious revolution stimulated all kinds of religious life and thinking. Consequently early in the Reformation time there appeared in central Europe many groups of earnest Christians who, while rejecting the medieval church and holding fundamentally to the Reformation understanding of Christianity, did not go the way of either Lutherans or Zwinglians, or join their state churches. Their ideal was to form societies of truly converted Christians on a voluntary basis. These societies should be holy, according to the New Testament and particularly the Sermon on the Mount. In them the life of primitive Christians should be reproduced. Their members should all live according to the gospel. They should hold aloof from force, therefore from civil office and war. They should offer no resistance to evil and quietly endure whatever hardship came upon them for their convictions. They should cultivate a close fellowship and care for each other's needs. The

ORIGIN

ANABAPTIST
SOCIETIES

DOCTRINE OF
THE CHURCH
AND ITS
RESULTS

societies should exercise a strict discipline in order to keep a pure membership of genuine Christians.

The central doctrine of the Anabaptists may be said to have been a certain conception of the Church. The Church, they held, is a community of converted or regenerate persons. No others should have anything to do with it. From this followed their belief that baptism, the rite of admission to the Church, should be administered only to adults, since only they could experience conversion. Those who joined their societies were baptized, on the ground that their baptism in infancy, which practically all men and women in the Reformation time had received, was meaningless. Hence the name that was fastened on them of Anabaptists, signifying those who baptize again. From their idea of the Church it followed also that they could not consent to a state church. A church under the power of civil rulers who may or may not be Christians, they held, is no true church. Thus they separated themselves from fellowship with the churches of the Reformation, all of which were state churches.

RELATION OF
ANABAPTISTS
TO SOCIETY

The Anabaptists arose in the parts of Europe where social discontent had long rankled. They were drawn largely from peasants and artisans who were suffering injustice, though among their leaders were educated men. They were to some extent involved in the Peasants' War of 1525, the culmination of the revolts of the oppressed people. In the early years of their movement there was among the Anabaptists some thought of overturn of the existing order and its replacement by a so-

ciety founded upon Christian love. But this social radicalism passed away, partly because of persecution, and it never characterized the great body of the Anabaptists. In general they were quiet, devout, industrious people, concerned with the life of societies such as have been described, withdrawn from the world and from politics, patiently bearing enmity and sufferings.

Before 1524 numerous societies of Anabaptists existed in Switzerland and southern and western Germany. From this time they increased rapidly in these regions and in the Netherlands and Austria. The Roman Catholic Church of course attacked them, and bitter hostility was encountered from Lutherans and Zwinglians because of their rejection of infant baptism and their opposition to state churches. At the Diet of Speyer in 1529 the Lutherans and Zwinglians, while protesting against persecution for themselves, agreed to suppression of the Anabaptists by civil rulers. Some of them met death at the hands of Protestants. The fiercest Romanist assaults fell upon them, especially in the Netherlands, where their sufferings were terrible beyond words. But in the face of persecution by far the severest of the Reformation they showed remarkable vitality and endurance.

Their greatest leader was Menno Simons (1492-1559). For twenty-five years he shepherded the scattered Anabaptist societies in Germany and the Netherlands. He purified them of fanatical tendencies which naturally resulted from their sufferings, encouraged them under persecution, in-

GROWTH AND
PERSECUTION

MENNO
SIMONS

**THE
MENNONITES**

**THE
MENNONITES
AND MODERN
BAPTISTS**

creased their numbers by his preaching and drew them together into a great brotherhood. This took from him the name Mennonite.

In 1608 some men of Puritan views who had left the Church of England fled from persecution to Holland. Some of them later were the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Others came under the influence of Mennonites and adopted their views. About 1611 some of these latter founded in London the first Anabaptist or Baptist church of England. Other early English Baptists were in association with Dutch Mennonites. From these first English Baptists have come the Baptist churches of the English-speaking world. The Mennonite name is still borne by churches in Germany and by churches of German origin in Russia and America.

V. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

A. FORCES MAKING FOR REFORM IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The medieval church could not come through the storms of the Reformation and be altogether the same as it had been before. Forces working within and without made this impossible.

**THE SPIRIT OF
REFORM
WITHIN THE
CHURCH**

Within there was an unceasing demand for moral reform. The only quarter of the church where there was general contentment with existing conditions was the Curia, or papal court, the ring of ecclesiastical politicians surrounding the Pope. Elsewhere, men of all countries and classes insisted that the church be purged of its gross

evils. In this cry many of the clergy joined—priests, monks, bishops, even cardinals. Furthermore, some men who had been influenced by the Revival of Learning felt that the church's teaching ought to be reformed, in the light of the new truth that was abroad. Thus within the church there were many men, all of its thoughtful and serious men, who were bent on securing reform.

When to this force working within there was added a succession of tremendous blows from without, as the Reformation broke away one part of the church after another, some result had to follow. Men who had no particular interest in reform for its own sake could yet read the handwriting on the wall, and they saw that the church must amend itself in order to save its life.

THE
EFFECT OF THE
REFORMATION

B. POSSIBLE WAYS OF REFORM

There were two possible methods of reform, each of which was advocated by a considerable party. One was a purely moral reformation. The church might put a stop to wrongful practices and rid itself of vicious priests and prelates. It might remove the abuses and disorders of its government, and improve its organization, so making itself more efficient for its work. It might gain a new spirit of fidelity and zeal. With all this, doctrine and worship might be kept essentially as they had been in the Middle Ages.

MORAL
REFORM

The other possible reformation would consist of changes in doctrine as well as of moral advance. Its supporters believed that the Protestant move-

REFORM OF
RELIGIOUS
TEACHING

ment had brought to light precious truths. These they hoped the church would take into its teaching. They thought that if this were done the Protestants would return and the great rent in the church would be mended. But the hope of this well-meaning party was vain. Between those who believed, as these men still did, that the priesthood of the church had divine authority to bring God and man together, and Protestants, who cherished the truth of the priesthood of all believers, there could be no fundamental agreement. This was made finally clear at a conference of leading theologians of both sides in 1541.

C. THE WAY CHOSEN—THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The idea of a reformation by which the Protestants could be brought back and the unity of the church restored was now given up. The Roman Catholic Church, as we may now call it, began to prepare itself for a sharp battle with Protestantism. There was to be no important change from the teaching of the medieval church, but there were to be reorganization and moral reform to make the church more efficient. This great endeavor of the Roman Catholic Church to reorganize itself and conquer Protestantism is called the Counter-Reformation.

D. THE RESOURCES OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

1. The Jesuits

For this battle, the Roman Catholic Church had several strong resources. One was a new, but soon

immensely powerful, religious order, the Society of Jesus. This organization can best be understood by studying the religious experience of its founder, the Spanish nobleman Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556).

Loyola's first great desire was to win fame as a soldier; but this future was closed against him at twenty-eight by a wound which lamed him for life. Then his ambition turned toward gaining fame through being a great saint, like Dominic or Francis. As he was considering this, it came over him that to be a saint one must be a man of God, and that he was not such a man. He became possessed by a desire to get near to God and be at peace with him. Therefore he entered a monastery, and flung himself with his whole soul into the monk's life. But all his fastings, scourgings, prayers and confessions gave his conscience no rest. Then suddenly he cast himself and his sins on the mercy of God; and thus by trust in God he found assurance of forgiveness and peace for his soul. Henceforth his life was to be a willing service of God.

Thus far he had gone in the path of Luther. But now Loyola diverged. He was still altogether a man of medieval religion. He believed without question that the church was ordained of God to represent him among men. Moreover, in this Spanish soldier, a ruling trait was that disciplined military obedience often seen in the Spanish character. To him true religion meant blind submission to the church. The service of God consisted, he thought, in devotion to the church's interests. This meant gaining new converts for it, winning

LOYOLA
FOUNDER OF
THE SOCIETY

HIS INTERPRE-
TATION OF THE
SERVICE
OF GOD

back those who had left it, breaking down the strength of its opponents, and putting a stop to all teaching contrary to its rule. He held this idea with most sincere conviction, and with the ardor and persistency that marked his character.

Being ordered by his superiors to study theology before he entered on any work, he spent six years at the University of Paris. With his keen insight into human nature he chose as companions of his purposes nine students, all of whom came to be men of extraordinary power. The Society of Jesus was formally organized in 1540, with these ten as members. It grew rapidly from the first, though only picked men were admitted; for Loyola's power of influence, high character, ardent zeal, and great designs for the regeneration of the church attracted many. Both priests and laymen were received into the order. Unlike other orders, it then, as now, had no distinctive dress.

FORMATION OF
THE SOCIETY
OF JESUS

ITS PURPOSE
AND
ORGANIZATION

The purpose of the society was to advance the interests and fight the enemies of the Roman Catholic Church, in every possible way. It was to work always in unquestioning loyalty to the Pope. The organization of the society was a system of absolute, instant obedience, enforced by constant discipline. "Every member . . . was bound to obey his immediate superiors as if they stood for him in the place of Christ, and that to the extent of doing what he considered wrong."¹ Thus was formed a great machine, altogether subject to the will of the General, always ready to be used for

¹ Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, p. 552.

anything whatever that was helpful to the church or commanded by the Pope.

The Jesuits had three principal methods of counteracting Protestantism. In churches which they established or of which they got control they provided able preachers and attractive services. Thus they put new life into the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church in many places. They also gave great attention to educational work. Schools for children were opened, which were soon crowded, because good teaching was given free. The pupils were, of course, trained to be devout Roman Catholics and through the children the Jesuit teachers worked on the parents. By this means large districts in Germany were won back from Protestantism. The Roman Catholic universities were supplied with professors chosen for their powers of teaching and of personal influence. Thus many young men were made ardent supporters of Roman Catholicism. A third method of work was political. The Jesuits set themselves to inspire Roman Catholic rulers with their own devotion to the church and hatred of Protestantism. Persecutions of Protestants in many countries were the result of their constant pressure.

Within a very few years the Jesuits became dominant in the Roman Catholic Church. Their spirit was the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.

JESUIT
METHODS OF
FIGHTING PROT-
ESTANTISM

2. The Work of the Council of Trent

The second great resource of the Roman Catholic Church was what the Council of Trent did

for it. This general council met at Trent in the Tyrol in 1545, and during eighteen years held three long sessions. It gave the church a complete statement of its doctrine. Nothing of this kind had been made in the Middle Ages. Now the church received a definite expression of what it believed regarding all the great matters of Christian truth, framed in frank opposition to Protestantism. Thus it had a new and powerful weapon in its fight to regain what had been lost. The council was called, however, to consider the subject of earlier councils—reform in the church. Though the Curia managed to keep it from doing all that the majority wished, the council did accomplish something in this direction. It reorganized the church's system of government, so as to make it more efficient. It removed some of the worst evils. It made provision for the education of the clergy. Altogether, the council left the church far better equipped for its battle with Protestantism.

3. Means of Repression—the Inquisition and the Index

The leaders of the Counter-Reformation adopted heartily the medieval belief that it was right to use force against heresy. Roman Catholic rulers were urged to persecute, as we have seen. But the church had its own means of repression. By the Inquisition what Protestantism there was in Spain and Italy was stamped out. Along with it worked the Congregation of the Index, that is the Index of Prohibited Books. This list of books condemned by the church included all Protestant

writings and all versions of the Bible except the Vulgate. By the activity of the Congregation not only Protestant belief, but also progressive thought and learning of all kinds were practically crushed out of Italy and Spain.

4. A Revival of Religion in the Church

It must not be thought that the Counter-Reformation was wholly an affair of organizations and schemes and repression. It included a genuine awakening of religious life in the Roman Catholic Church. Among both clergy and laity there was in many places a revival of Christian faith and zeal, which showed itself in new devotion to the interests of the church and to the welfare of fellow men. Those who felt this revival were enemies of Protestantism, and labored to build up the Roman Catholic Church at its expense, but they were unquestionably devout Christian men.

E. THE CONQUESTS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Roman Catholicism stood at its lowest point about 1560. Protestantism had prevailed in many countries, and seemed to have more conquests just ahead, particularly in parts of the German Empire which hitherto the papacy had retained. In 1566, however, the Roman Catholic Church took the offensive under a fighting Pope, Pius V. The resources just described enabled it to attack Protestantism with a force which the medieval church at the beginning of the Reformation could not have wielded. It had also the help of powerful rulers,

ROMAN
CATHOLIC
CONQUESTS

especially of the German emperor and the sovereigns of France and Spain.

Now began the reconquest. In large parts of the German Empire which were still officially Roman Catholic, because they had Roman Catholic rulers, Protestantism was strong and growing. Many of the rulers had been tolerant toward it. But now they became possessed by the Counter-Reformation hatred of it. By the work of the Jesuits and the persecutions of the rulers, these countries were made solidly Roman Catholic. This included Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Bavaria, and much of the Rhine country. In Poland the same thing happened. In the Netherlands the Counter-Reformation appeared in the destruction of Protestantism in the southern provinces. The greatest of these first Roman Catholic enterprises of reconquest was directed against England. It was clear that so long as England kept its power Protestantism could not be crushed. By the great fleet called the Spanish Armada, sent by Philip II of Spain against England, the Roman Catholic power tried to strike down its stoutest enemy. But the English sea fighters and a terrible storm together utterly ruined the Armada, and Protestant England was saved.

VI. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Counter-Reformation directly caused one of the most destructive wars of all history. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) resulted from a united attempt of the German Roman Catholic

rulers to destroy Protestantism in the empire. The emperor, Ferdinand II, and the Archduke of Bavaria led the Roman Catholics against the Protestant princes. For eleven years the Protestants were uniformly unsuccessful. Then the Protestant cause was saved by the great Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He was a wise statesman and the ablest military leader in Europe; and he was an ardent Lutheran. He entered the war because the advancing power of the emperor threatened Sweden's life, and because he could not see his fellow Protestants crushed. By a series of brilliant victories he lifted Protestantism out of helpless collapse. Though after his death in battle the war turned somewhat against the Protestants, the advantage he gained proved permanent. Protestantism on the continent of Europe owed its life at this critical time to Gustavus Adolphus.

GUSTAVUS
ADOLPHUS
SAVES PROT-
ESTANTISM

The epochal Peace of Westphalia concluded the war in 1648. The Peace of Augsburg¹ was confirmed, and widened to give Calvinism the same rights that Lutheranism had had. Protestants were put on an equality with Roman Catholics in all affairs of the empire. All parts of the empire, it was agreed, should keep the forms of religion, Protestant or Roman Catholic, which they had in 1624. This ended both the aggression of the Counter-Reformation and Protestant progress. Until 1930 the religious character of the regions of Germany largely remained as thus determined.

PEACE OF
WESTPHALIA

¹ See p. 197.

Religious toleration for subjects of different faith from their rulers was guaranteed to a considerable extent. The Peace assured the chief results of the Reformation in Germany and was a long advance in religious liberty.

VII. MISSIONS

PROTESTANT INACTIVITY

All the missionary honors of this period belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant churches did nothing worth mentioning to give the gospel to non-Christian peoples. One reason for this was that the strength of Protestantism was spent in the struggle for its own existence. But it has to be said that the Protestant churches had no understanding of their missionary duty and privilege. The great leaders of the Reformation gave no sign of realizing what Christians ought to do in the matter, and naturally their followers imitated them. Protestantism did not get its missionary vision until the eighteenth century.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ENTERPRISE

Throughout this period the Roman Catholic Church carried on a very active missionary work. A great new field for Christianity to conquer was opened by the discoveries of new lands in West and East in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here pioneers of the church, chiefly Franciscans and Dominicans, made haste to enter. The governments of the countries which made these discoveries thought that the extension of Christianity was a part of their duty toward their new possessions. Hence friars and priests often went on

the voyages of exploration, and always were among the earliest comers.

The greatest of the Roman Catholic missionaries, however, were the Jesuits. Mission work fitted exactly into their great purpose, to extend the church over the world, and they threw themselves into it with boundless zeal and heroism. One of Ignatius Loyola's first companions in forming the Society of Jesus was the Spaniard, Francis Xavier. In the year in which the society was founded he and two other members went to India. Already some missionary work had been done there under the Portuguese government. Xavier worked in India about four years, chiefly along the southernmost coast. His methods were practically those of mediæval missionaries. After slight instruction of the natives through an interpreter he would baptize numbers of them in a day. But he showed truly apostolic desire for the salvation of men, as he understood it, and truly apostolic devotion in laboring for it. Under his hands the work grew so that large reënforcements had to be sent by the Jesuits in Europe.

JESUIT
MISSIONS

XAVIER

From India, Xavier went to Japan. There he planted Christianity in 1549, and in two years' work he and his companions laid the foundation of a Japanese church which grew very rapidly. Still seeking to carry the gospel into new lands, Xavier started for China, and died in 1552 on an island off the Chinese coast.

The beginning in China which Xavier could not make was made in 1583 by the Jesuit Matteo

THE JESUITS
IN CHINA

Ricci. By his knowledge of astronomy and geography he made the emperor kindly disposed toward himself and his efforts to establish Christianity. Here also the work prospered greatly, so that many hundreds of Jesuit missionaries were summoned to care for it.

THE JESUITS
IN AMERICA

In the French possessions in North America and in Paraguay, also, the Jesuit missionary campaign was pushed with great vigor and devotion. In fidelity and courage and sacrifice no missionaries have ever surpassed the French Jesuits who worked in North America, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence all along the Great Lakes and thence to the mouth of the Mississippi.

In almost all the countries where the Jesuits and the older orders worked they built up the church very rapidly. But this growth, as Roman Catholic historians admit, was not substantial, which shows that the methods used were mistaken. Nevertheless, the zeal and heroism of many of these men is a precious legacy to the whole Christian Church.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the progress of the English Reformation in the reigns of
 - a. Henry VIII.
 - b. Edward VI.
 - c. Mary.
 - d. Elizabeth.
2. When did the Puritans appear? What were their desires regarding the Church of England?
3. Why did some of the Puritans emigrate to America?

4. Why did Puritanism grow in the early seventeenth century?

5. When and how did the Puritans come into power in England?

6. Describe the Anabaptist societies.

7. What were the ideas of the Anabaptists regarding the church? Why did they object to infant baptism?

8. Describe their growth and persecutions.

9. How are the modern Baptists connected with the Anabaptists?

10. What forces made some change in the medieval church necessary?

11. What were the possible ways of reforming the church? What way was chosen? What was the Counter-Reformation?

12. What were the resources of the Roman Catholic Church for its battle against Protestantism?

13. Describe the religious experience of Ignatius Loyola. What was his idea of practical Christianity?

14. What were the principal features of the Society of Jesus?

15. How did the Jesuits fight against Protestantism?

16. What did the Council of Trent do for the Roman Catholic Church?

17. Describe the revival of religious life in the Roman Church.

18. How much did the Roman Church gain in the Counter-Reformation?

19. What were the causes of the Thirty Years' War? What were the conditions of the Peace of Westphalia?

20. Describe the missions of the Jesuits.

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," Section II, 9, on English history; 12, on the Thirty Years' War; Section III, 1, pp. 247-258, on the Puritan part in politics.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period VI, sections iv, ix, xi, xiii, xvi to p. 470.

T. M. Lindsay: "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, Book IV, on the Reformation in England; Book V, ch. II, on the Anabaptists; Book VI, on the Counter-Reformation.

Green: "Short History of the English People," ch. VIII, sections 1-3, 5, on Puritan England, especially 1.

Knappen: "Tudor Puritanism."

A. H. Newman: "Manual of Church History," Vol. II, pp. 148-200, on the Anabaptists.

Lucas: "The Renaissance and the Reformation," Book II, Part X, on the Counter-Reformation.

Kidd: "The Counter-Reformation."

Van Dyke: "Ignatius Loyola."

Latourette: "Three Centuries of Advance" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. III), describes in detail Roman Catholic missions in the East and the Americas.

CHAPTER XIV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: I

(A. D. 1648-1800)

I. FRANCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

We may take France and the Roman Catholic Church together, for the chief events in the history of Roman Catholicism in this period belong to French history.

For France the seventeenth century was a time of large growth. The nation prospered much, and moved rapidly to the first place among the nations of Europe. Its energies of all kinds were greatly quickened. All this came to full flower in the long and brilliant reign of Louis XIV (1661-1715), the time of many of the most famous men of French history.

GROWTH OF
FRANCE

A. GALLICANISM AND ULTRAMONTANISM

The Roman Catholic Church in France shared in this strengthening of the national life. The increased religious energy showed itself in preaching, in philanthropic service and in missions. This general awakening of both patriotism and religion resulted in the movement known as Gallicanism. This, in a word, represented an attempt to be both good Catholics and good Frenchmen. The Gallicans

RELIGIOUS
AWAKENING

GALLICANISM

were devoutly attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and acknowledged its authority in matters of religion. But they believed that the Pope had no business to interfere in French politics. In this sphere they acknowledged only the authority of their king. Furthermore they held that the Pope was not an absolute monarch in the church, but that his authority was inferior to that of general councils.

ULTRA-
MONTANISM

Opposed to Gallicanism was the Ultramontane party. This word "Ultramontane" has been common in European discussions of politics and church affairs since the seventeenth century, for the spirit to which it refers has often appeared. An Ultramontane is one who in matters of church or state obeys the Pope before any other authority. At this time in France the strength of Ultramontanism lay in the Jesuits, always loyal soldiers of the Pope.

B. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE JESUITS

OPPOSITION TO
THE JESUITS

During the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries strong opposition was offered to the Jesuits by many of the ablest and best men of the Roman Catholic Church in France. They protested against the easy-going, deceitful ideas about personal morals which the Jesuits were spreading through the confessional. Still more did they object to the Jesuit slavery to the Pope, as harmful to both religion and patriotism. The Jesuits fought this opposition fiercely. They got both the Popes and King Louis XIV under their influence, and had the active help of these great authorities. The French clergy were

compelled by the Popes and the king to go on record as condemning the ideas of the opponents of the Jesuits. Nevertheless the Jesuits became more and more unpopular. The feeling grew that this powerful, secretly working body of men, who lived in France but gave their highest allegiance to a ruler outside of France, was treasonable and dangerous to the nation. When Portugal in 1759 expelled the Jesuits, public opinion in France demanded the same action there, and it was taken in 1764.

THEIR
EXPULSION

This was the beginning of the end for the Jesuits. Soon Spain expelled them, and then the kingdom of Naples, the cause in each case being that they were considered disloyal to the government. Finally Pope Clement XIV, under pressure from the kings of all these countries, in 1773 dissolved the order. Strange to say, those Jesuits who kept up the organization found refuge in a Protestant country, Prussia, and in Russia, where the Eastern Church ruled.

DISSOLUTION

C. THE PERSECUTION OF THE HUGUENOTS

The splendid age of Louis XIV has a dark side, in the terrible sufferings of the French Protestants. By the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, the Huguenots had received complete liberty of conscience, liberty of public worship in many places, full civil rights, and the control of a large number of towns. Between 1598 and 1659, although the government took from them this control of the towns, their freedom of religion was not disturbed. In this time of peace the French Protestants formed a large body,

THE
HUGUENOTS
IN THE EARLY
SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

full of enthusiastic religious life. They numbered over a million—more than their total at the present time. They had a ministry of high character and marked ability. Their churches, many of which were very large, were crowded with worshippers. The Huguenots had an importance in the nation far out of proportion to their numbers. Among them were many of the leaders in the professions, in commerce and in manufacturing, and many of the best workingmen. They were patriotic Frenchmen, thoroughly loyal. France had no other element of population so valuable.

THE
PERSECUTION

But the bigoted Roman Catholic clergy could not endure this prosperous Protestantism. At their door lies the chief blame for the terrible disaster that befell France through the attack on the Huguenots. Because of their urging, the government began the attack in 1659. The first measures against the Huguenots were the taking away of civil rights, and endeavors on a great scale to bribe them to profess Roman Catholicism. In 1681 Louis XIV entered on a determined, savage effort to crush out Protestantism. This reached its climax four years later in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Protestants had now no security at all before the law. Laws with barbarous penalties forbade them to emigrate, and all kinds of oppressions and cruelties were used to compel them to become Roman Catholics.

RESULTING
LOSS TO
FRANCE

The result of all this was an irreparable loss to France. Thousands of her best citizens were put to death or broken in body by torture and imprison-

ment. Many others braved for the sake of their faith the dangers of emigration, and fled the country. Altogether about four hundred thousand Huguenots left France. Their going was a grievous disaster to the nation. Commerce and manufacturing were seriously injured. Even worse was the moral loss to France—a loss which has never been made good.

The Huguenots went far and wide, to England, Holland, Protestant Germany, America. Thus the French Reformation gave its strength to build up Protestantism in other countries. After 1685 Protestantism in France led a hunted and heroic life for nearly eighty years. Then persecution stopped, but religious liberty was not given until 1789, by the first of the governments of the French Revolution.

D. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When the Revolution broke out (1789), the assembly representing the people showed bitter hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. The causes of this had been working for many years. The persecution of Protestantism had made people turn in disgust and horror from an institution whose leaders were to blame for such barbarities. Many patriotic Frenchmen regarded the church as an enemy to national loyalty, because numbers of the clergy put the Pope's authority above that of the government. Furthermore, the eighteenth century saw in France a great growth of doubt and denial

HOSTILITY OF
THE FRENCH
PEOPLE TO THE
ROMAN
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

of the truth of Christianity. This naturally caused indifference or opposition to the great representative of Christianity in that country, the Roman Catholic Church. Strangely enough, this skepticism played a considerable part in ending the persecution of Protestantism. Men who lacked Christian faith of course condemned the use of force to make one form of Christianity supreme over another.

Perhaps the greatest cause of the hostility to the church was its enormous wealth and the selfish use made of it. Times were very hard, especially for the great mass of the poor, who were ruined by cruel taxation. But the wealth of the church was used chiefly for the advantage of its higher clergy, who were generally lazy and luxurious, and in many cases immoral. The parish priests, the only members of the clergy who were of use to the people, were wretchedly underpaid. This whole situation filled France with indignation.

The first legislature of the Revolution, the National Assembly (1789-1790), seized the property of the church and sold much of it to meet national needs. It established complete religious liberty. It abolished the monastic orders, and wholly reorganized the Roman Catholic Church, leaving it subject to the Pope only in name. Finally not only the church, but also Christianity was hated. This was due partly to the increase of unbelief, and partly to the fact that many thought that the church and Christianity were identical, and blamed the religion for all the evils of the church. In 1793 Christian wor-

ship was abolished, the existence of God was formally denied, and the worship of the Religion of Reason was set up. The Christian Lord's Day was replaced by the setting apart of every tenth day for rest and sport.

The people, however, soon turned against all this. In 1795 Christian worship was permitted by the government. All religious bodies were allowed to have their own forms of worship, supporting them without government aid. This arrangement was soon broken up by Napoleon, who had his own ideas about the relation of church and state.

II. PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY

A. RELIGIOUS DECLINE AFTER THE REFORMATION

The history of German Protestantism during the years following the Reformation is disappointing. The great tide of religious revival which Luther's work had caused soon subsided. A dreary and barren time of theological disputes set in. Even before the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the Lutherans were quarreling among themselves over questions of doctrine. Moreover, there were bitter doctrinal contests between the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians, which widened the breach between these two branches of Protestantism.

One outcome of these disputes was the framing by the Lutherans in 1577 of the long creed called the Formula of Concord. This was intended to be a final statement of Lutheran doctrine, settling all question as to what that ought to be. It condemned

AN AGE OF
THEOLOGICAL
DISPUTES

LUTHERAN
ORTHODOXY

Calvinism, especially in the matter of predestination, thus perpetuating the separation of the Lutheran and the Reformed bodies. It pronounced at length on all the questions in dispute among Lutherans, and brought about among them a measure of harmony. The Formula of Concord came to be thought by Lutherans a complete expression of Christian truth, a perfect creed which could not be improved upon. Henceforth, the men of the Lutheran ministry devoted their preaching to explaining and defending this creed, instead of strengthening the spiritual life of their people or leading them into Christian service. They were more interested in stating and supporting orthodox Lutheran doctrine than in the effect of Christian truth on the lives of the people.

There was therefore a religious decline in German Lutheranism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The successes of the Counter-Reformation in Lutheran districts were due partly to this condition. This religious weakness and also the constant theological warfare between Lutherans and Calvinists go far to explain the poor showing which German Protestantism made in the early part of the Thirty Years' War. The war brought no improvement, but rather further spiritual loss, on account of the ruin and barbarism which it caused.

Thus we find the religious life of German Protestantism after 1648 decidedly feeble. This was true of both the Lutherans and the Reformed. The ministry was poor in personal religion. Ortho-

doxy was considered the most important characteristic of a minister. It was not thought necessary that he should have had a Christian experience or be an earnest Christian man. Naturally preaching consisted mostly of theological discussions, with little emphasis on vital Christianity or help toward getting it. The churches were cold, formal and inactive. There was no idea of Christian missions, and at home Protestantism was about as far as possible from being an aggressive, enthusiastic force.

B. PIETISM

In this time when it was so much needed new life came through the powerful movement called Pietism. Its first great leader was Philip Jacob Spener. In early manhood he saw the evil case of religion in his country, and the reason for this and set himself to do what he could to remedy it.

As pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main (1666-1686), Spener labored that his people might have a living, earnest Christianity, ruling and purifying their conduct. He preached simple, fervid, practical sermons, avoiding the stiff oratorical style which was in fashion. He dwelt upon the truth of regeneration, the change wrought in the heart of the man of faith by the Spirit of God. He insisted that to be born again and to lead a holy life were infinitely more important than to have orthodox views as to doctrine. Hard to believe as it may be, this was then a new and strange idea. Spener revived the Reformation doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and showed that one of its

SPENER'S
WORK

practical meanings was that laymen should enter into religious service, teaching and helping one another. He held meetings in his own house for devotional study of the Bible and prayer and mutual instruction, in which laymen took part. He did a great deal of pastoral work and paid much attention to the religious education of children. The fact that both his teachings and his methods were new to the church life of his time is the best indication of what its condition was.

THE PIETIST
MOVEMENT

Spener's ministry bore fruit in the revival of many people in Frankfort. Thus began the Pietist movement, as it was called, that is, the revival of piety, of living Christianity as distinguished from mere orthodoxy of belief. Its growth was greatly furthered by Spener's book *Pia Desideria* ("Pious Longings"), in which he pointed out the evil conditions of the times and urged as a remedy the teachings and methods which he was using. The movement rapidly grew into a widespread and powerful awakening. It met opposition from severely orthodox theologians—the faculty of Wittenberg University charged Spener with two hundred and sixty-four theological errors!—and from those who objected to the strict moral teachings of the Pietists. But their efforts were vain. For half a century, beginning about 1685, Pietism was the ruling influence in German Protestantism, filling it with fresh spiritual power, in fact making religious life there a new thing. It was really a continuance of the religious revival which accompanied the Reformation. Covered over for

years, apparently quenched, this now burst out with life-giving strength.

Like all genuine revivals, Pietism inspired people to works of Christian love. In this side of the movement we come upon its second great leader, August Francke, pastor and university professor at Halle from 1694. This city and its university became the center of the movement. Here were great institutions for destitute children. Here also was the home office of the famous Danish-Halle mission; for Pietism has the honor of having produced the earliest Protestant foreign missions work. The king of Denmark, wishing to provide Christian teaching for the people of his possessions in southern India, obtained missionaries from the German Pietists. The first of them went out to Tranquebar in 1705. During that century sixty missionaries, among whom was the noble Benjamin Schwartz, were supplied for this mission by the Pietist schools of Halle.

PIETIST
PHILANTHROPY
AND MISSIONS

Beside what it did for religious life in Germany, Pietism sent out to other lands impulses of spiritual power which brought about great results. The Moravian Brotherhood was in part a result of this movement. Through the Moravians the spirit of Pietism touched John Wesley and made him one of the most powerful leaders the Christian Church has ever had. Through a German Pietist minister of Raritan, New Jersey, Gilbert Tennent received the personal revival which made his preaching one of the causes of the Great Awakening in America.

INFLUENCE OF
PIETISM
OUTSIDE OF
GERMANY

C. THE MORAVIANS

The founder of the Moravian Brotherhood was Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), an Austrian nobleman, who was brought up under Pietist influences. In his youth he formed a plan of gathering a number of truly religious people into a community, which should be a source of spiritual life for the churches near it. When he was barely twenty-one he bought an estate in Saxony in order to carry out this plan. Very soon the people needed for it were providentially supplied. Certain members of the Bohemian Brotherhood, the religious body which sprang from the work of John Hus, being driven by persecution from their homes in Moravia, obtained from Zinzendorf permission to settle on his estate. Thus was made the beginning of the community, which took the name Herrnhut, "Shelter of the Lord." From these Moravians the whole company got the Moravian name, though a number of Germans from the neighborhood also joined it. Zinzendorf himself, with his wife and child, came to live in the community. To it he devoted his life, with tireless labors and constant prayers. Though there were sharp religious differences among its members, he brought them into a real unity, and filled them with his own passionate devotion to Christ.

The missionary labors which have made the Moravians famous began in 1731. Two men were sent to St. Thomas in the West Indies, and two to Greenland, where the heroic Norwegian, Hans

FORMATION
OF THE
MORAVIAN
BROTHERHOOD

MORAVIAN
MISSIONS

Egede, had already planted the gospel. Following them a stream of missionaries went out, so that in Zinzendorf's lifetime his brethren were at work in Europe, Asia, Africa and North and South America. In a few years little Herrnhut sent more missionaries than had gone from all European Protestantism during two centuries. They went to the hardest and most dangerous places and the most unpromising peoples. Everywhere they were animated by the joyful, confident faith and the loyalty to Christ that speak in Zinzendorf's hymn, "Jesus, still lead on"; and everywhere they showed the same courage and love for men.

III. THE AGE OF REASON

A new age in the history of western Europe, whose influence was felt in America, began late in the seventeenth century and lasted for about a hundred years. Its mark was the supremacy of the human reason in all parts of thought and action. The spirit of the age moved men to test all ideas and institutions by reason and thus decide as to whether they were worth keeping.

The principal cause of this reigning spirit was the immeasurable increase of knowledge which had begun in the Renaissance and continued through the seventeenth century. In all fields science had made revolutionary advances. Man found himself in a new universe, about which he was constantly learning more, and he had become a new creature to himself. The names of Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Harvey represent this. Triumphant achievements

ITS CAUSE—
SCIENTIFIC
PROGRESS

of the human reason caused men to trust it entirely, to believe that there were no limits to its possibilities, therefore to hold that it ought to reign supreme.

EFFECTS OF
SUPREMACY
OF REASON

The dominance of reason meant a tremendous revolt, against authority, political and religious, against tradition, against superstition, against prejudice. Inherited political ideas and old political institutions were criticized by reason and rejected if they could not thus prove their value. Such thinking brought about the overthrow of ancient forms of government in the French Revolution. In education, economics, morals, everywhere the demand was for what would satisfy the reason. This is signified in two names connected with this age, the Enlightenment and the Illumination.

Confidence in human reason bred a high opinion of human nature generally. The idea grew up of human rights, that is of things to which human nature is entitled because it is worthy.

EFFECT
ON RELIGION

In religion the spirit of this age meant belief that a religion sufficient for human needs could be attained by the reason. Certain ideas, the existence of God, the moral law, a future state of rewards and punishments, could be proved true, it was thought. This, which was called natural religion, was esteemed religion enough. Divine revelation in the Bible was not thought necessary. The authoritative teaching of the churches, Roman Catholic or Protestant, could not stand the test of reason.

The practical effect on religion varied in different

countries. In France opposition to Christianity was stronger than elsewhere and atheism appeared. In Germany there was much doubt of the truth of Christianity or denial of it, and Protestant church life suffered because of decline of faith and fervor. In England "natural religion" had considerable hold and Christian thought was widely pervaded by a rationalism which weakened religious life. This condition was one element of need for the eighteenth century revival.

IV. THE EASTERN CHURCH, FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO EIGHTEENTH

In 1453 there fell upon the Eastern Church the greatest disaster of its history, in the Turkish capture of Constantinople. The Eastern Empire, so long a champion of Christianity, passed away, and the sultan sat on the emperor's throne. St. Sophia, the magnificent church built by Justinian in the sixth century, was turned into a mosque, as a sign of the fall of Christianity before Islam. The Christians living in Turkish territory were allowed to keep up their worship, but they lost all their rights before the law, and had to live in helpless subjection. The organization of the church was undisturbed. The patriarch of Constantinople even had his powers increased. He was placed over the other three patriarchates of the East, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, and was made head of all the Christians in the Turkish Empire, which now included all the territory of

RESULTS OF
THE TURKISH
CAPTURE OF
CONSTAN-
TINOPLE

the Eastern Church except Russia. He was appointed by the sultan, and was wholly under his power. Most of the patriarchs after this obtained their office by bribery and kept it by flattery. They lost influence with the people through being really officials of the hated Moslem power. Since the bishops also were under Turkish control, they, too, suffered in character and influence.

INTELLECTUAL
DECLINE OF
THE CHURCH

At the fall of Constantinople many Greek scholars fled to western Europe, and there took part in the Revival of Learning. The departure of these learned and thoughtful men seriously weakened the intellectual life of the Eastern Church. The clergy became ignorant, and preaching practically ceased. At the time when the minds of men in the West were being roused by the Renaissance, the very opposite was going on in the Eastern Church. One reason why the Eastern Church did not share in the Reformation was that it never had the intellectual awakening which the West received to prepare the way for it.

Thus the Turkish triumph was in every possible way a fearful blow to the Eastern Church. It is a proof of the power of Christianity that the church survived at all.

RISE OF
RUSSIA AND
ITS CHURCH

Soon after the fall of the Eastern Empire, there rose in the north a new empire, the Russian. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries strong kings built up a united Russian nation. From the fall of Constantinople the Russian Church was largely independent. In name it was still subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, but its chief bishop,

the metropolitan of Moscow, was no longer chosen by him. Because of the degraded state of the church in the Turkish domains, and the rise of the power of Russia, the church in that country became the most important part of the Eastern Church. This was expressed by the raising of the metropolitan of Moscow to the rank of patriarch in 1587.

During the next century the Russian Church showed some new life, especially under the famous patriarch Nikon. He brought about an improvement in clerical morals and education, and some revival of preaching. In doctrine, however, there was no change. No progress was made toward a purer form of Christian teaching. When Protestantism invaded Russia from the west, it was fiercely driven out. Nor did the religion of priests and people become freer from superstition.

THE UNIATES

During the Counter-Reformation, while the Roman Catholic Church was striving for conquest on every side, it attempted to gain Russia. It succeeded in some regions in the southwestern part of the country, but only by offering very liberal terms. All that was asked of those who came over to it from the Eastern Church was submission to the Pope. They were allowed to keep their own form of worship and religious customs, among them the marriage of priests. These people were called Uniates. Among the Slavs in the United States are many Uniates, Roman Catholics of the Greek rite, or Greek Catholics who obey the Pope.

Early in the eighteenth century the czar Peter

GOVERNMENT
OF THE
CHURCH IN
EIGHTEENTH
AND
NINETEENTH
CENTURIES

the Great gave to the church the form of government which it kept until the revolution of 1917. In place of the patriarch, he put the Holy Synod. This was a body of bishops and priests chosen by the czar, presided over by a lay official called the High Procurator, who was the czar's direct representative. The church theoretically was ruled by the Synod, but practically it came to be controlled by the Procurator, carrying out the czar's will. Thus the church was completely subjected to the state, the czar being thought of as its "guardian and custodian." It became part of the machinery of the autocratic and oppressive government and thereby suffered most serious spiritual injury.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What was Gallicanism? What party opposed the Gallicans? What does "Ultramontane" mean?
2. Why did the Jesuits become unpopular in France? Why did the governments of other countries proceed against them? What action did the Pope take in regard to them?
3. Describe the condition of the Huguenots in the early seventeenth century. Why were they valuable to France?
4. Describe the persecution of the Huguenots. What was the result of it?
5. What caused hostility to the Roman Catholic Church to grow among the French people in the eighteenth century?
6. Describe the actions of the French revolutionary governments toward the Roman Catholic Church and toward religion.
7. Describe German Protestantism in the years following the Reformation. What caused the final separation of the Lutherans and the Reformed?
8. What was the state of religion in Germany in the latter half of the seventeenth century?

9. What were the teachings and methods of Spener?
10. What was the result of Spener's work? Describe the growth and power of Pietism.
11. What connection did Pietism have with missions? What influence did it have outside of Germany?
12. How did the Moravian Brotherhood come into being?
13. Describe the missions of the Moravians.
14. What was the spirit of the age of reason?
15. What was its effect on religion?
16. What was the effect on the Eastern Church of the fall of Constantinople? Of the rise of Russia?
17. Describe the government given to the Russian Church by Peter the Great and its effect. How long did this government last?

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," Section III, 15-17, on France, Germany, Russia; 19, on the age of reason; Section IV, 20, on the French Revolution.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," Period VII, sections i-iii, v, vi, x.

Cheetham: "History of the Christian Church Since the Reformation," ch. III, sections 4-6, on Roman Catholicism, especially in France; ch. IV, sections 1, 2, on German Protestantism; ch. VI, sections 1, 3, 4, on rationalism in England, France, Germany; ch. V, on the Eastern Church.

Aulard: "Christianity and the French Revolution."

A. J. Grant: "The Huguenots."

Article "Pietism" in Schaff-Herzog: "Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge."

Warneck: "History of Protestant Missions," Part I, ch. III, on Pietist and Moravian missions.

Adeney: "The Greek and Eastern Churches," Part I, Division II, ch. VIII, and Part II, Division II, chs. I, II, on the fall of Constantinople and its results; Part II, Division III, chs. III-V, on the Russian Church.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE NINE- TEENTH CENTURY: II

(A. D. 1648-1800)

V. PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND

A. PURITAN RULE

PURITAN
REFORM OF
THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND

WESTMINSTER
ASSEMBLY

SOLEMN
LEAGUE AND
COVENANT

Through their majority in the Long Parliament the Puritans at last had power to make over the Church of England as they desired.¹ With this in view, Parliament called the Westminster Assembly (1643-1649), composed of leading Puritan theologians. Its work was to prepare and lay before Parliament plans for a thorough reform of the national church. At the same time Parliament, in order to get the help of Scotland in its war against King Charles, took the Solemn League and Covenant. This, an enlargement of the earlier Scottish Covenant,² bound those who took it to maintain the Scottish Church as it was established at the Reformation, and also to bring the national churches of England and Ireland into uniformity with it. This meant to make them Presbyterian. Because of this agreement, a few commissioners representing Scotland were added to the Assembly.

¹ See p. 229.

² See p. 228.

Parliament then required the Assembly to follow its own example by taking the Covenant. Thus the question of what form of church government it should recommend for the Church of England was decided for the Assembly. But in any case it would have chosen a Presbyterian form, for among its members Presbyterians were in the majority.

The Assembly drew up and submitted to Parliament a complete constitution for the Church of England. Besides the scheme for church government, this included the Confession of Faith, intended as a creed for the Church, directions for worship and discipline, and the two Catechisms, Larger and Shorter.

WORK OF
WESTMINSTER
ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's scheme for church government was adopted by Parliament, and thus the Church of England was made Presbyterian by law. But this was never carried out to any great extent. The country was in confusion because of the war between Parliament and King Charles, and a growing number of the supporters of the Parliamentary cause were opposed to making Presbyterianism the established form of religion, to which all must conform. Many were Independents or Congregationalists. Some were Baptists, who agreed with the Independents regarding church government. There were also various smaller sects. These men desired religious freedom, not uniformity, Presbyterian or otherwise. This feeling was especially strong in the sturdy Puritan army which, under Oliver Cromwell, conquered the followers of the king.

THE CHURCH
PRESBYTERIAN
BY LAW, NOT
IN FACT

CHURCH
AFFAIRS UNDER
THE COM-
MONWEALTH

The execution of the king in 1649 was followed by the setting up of the Commonwealth government, with Cromwell at its head as Lord Protector. During its short life church matters remained unsettled. There was a measure of religious freedom, for Cromwell believed in this, not entirely, but more largely than his times did. Roman Catholicism was not allowed, or episcopacy, the old form of government of the Church of England, because these were considered politically dangerous. Aside from these there were churches of various kinds—principally Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Baptist.

THE FRIENDS

It was in this time that the Society of Friends, nicknamed the "Quakers," appeared. For years England had been full of disputes about church matters, centering chiefly about questions of church government, the ministry, the sacraments and worship. Weariness of this caused a number of earnest Christian people to accept the teaching of George Fox, that the Church ought to be ruled and taught directly by the Spirit of God, and ought not to have any fixed system of government or specially appointed ministry or regular form of worship. George Fox was one of the strongest religious leaders of his time, and an ardent evangelist, who won many converts.

GOVERNMENT
BY THE
PURITANS

Under the Commonwealth the Puritans had opportunity to work out their ideal regarding government, which was that it should be a means of strengthening religion and morality among the people. Parliament decided to appoint no man

to office "but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." Laws were passed requiring a high standard of personal morality. The severity of Puritan goodness showed itself in an attack on popular amusements. The theaters were closed. Brutal sports were stopped, and also some harmless pleasures long dear to the people, such as the keeping of Christmas and the Maypole revels. The Puritans' policy in this matter of amusements turned many of the English people against their rule. Many also disapproved of their attempt to enforce their ideal of righteousness on the nation at once, by law. With all their splendid traits of character, there were in the Puritans a certain tyranny and a narrowness which were bound to make their government unpopular. Their best work for England was not to be done by laws and force.

B. THE RESTORATION

The Puritan rule was followed by a sharp reaction against all that it had brought in. In 1660 the monarchy was restored, under Charles II, son of the king who had been put to death. At once the new government restored the national church to the form which it had had before the Puritan victory, the form given it at the time of the Reformation. The bishops came back to their sees, and the Book of Common Prayer again became the rule of all worship. Parliament ordered all ministers to declare their entire approval of the prayer book.

THE CHURCH
AGAIN
EPISCOPAL

**THE GREAT
EJECTION**

For refusing to do this about two thousand ministers, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, were "ejected" from their churches. In spite of the dangers of the law, many of them continued to preach at meetings outside the churches, and thousands of their people risked imprisonment by hearing them. At this "Great Ejection" of 1662, when these people of Puritan views were cast out of the Church of England, there were laid the foundations of the English Free Churches.

**PERSECUTION
OF DISSENT**

There followed further attempts to suppress dissent from the established church. Acts of Parliament forbade attendance at religious meetings other than the services of the church under heavy penalties. For such an offense John Bunyan was imprisoned for twelve years. It was in Bedford jail that he wrote "The Pilgrim's Progress." But in spite of the severe enforcement of these laws against dissent, it lived on.

**IMMORALITY
IN SOCIETY**

The opposition to Puritanism which was shown in all this action of Parliament appeared also in the wild orgy of immorality which swept over the English aristocracy and somewhat affected other parts of the nation, in the years just after 1660. After the strictness of the Puritan rule, things swung to the other extreme. The example of a corrupt king furthered this tendency. At the time it looked as if Puritanism had met with complete overthrow. This was not the case, however, as appeared when the reaction had spent itself. Puritanism had done a deep, abiding work in the

English people, giving them a serious, earnest character which they have never lost.

C. THE REVOLUTION

The events of this time showed, however, that the majority of the people preferred that their national church should remain as it was made at the Reformation, rather than as the Puritans would have made it. This did not mean that their Protestantism was at all doubtful. That it was not doubtful appeared when James II, successor of Charles II, set out to make the Church of England Roman Catholic. The nation revolted against his purpose and the tyranny by which he sought to achieve it. The leaders of both political parties called upon William, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of Holland, whose wife, Mary, was a daughter of the king, to come with an army for the protection of English liberty and Protestantism. The country rose to welcome him when he landed, the king fled to France, and William and Mary became sovereigns of England.

This bloodless Revolution of 1689 decided for England several questions of the highest importance. It was settled that the supreme power belonged to the people; for William and Mary became sovereigns by Acts of Parliament, through which the people spoke. Thus the long struggle against tyrannical kings for the liberty of the people, in which the Puritans had played a great part since the reign of James I, ended in victory. Here we see the relation between Protestantism

JAMES II
FAILED TO
MAKE ENGLAND
ROMAN
CATHOLIC

THE REVOLU-
TION DECIDED
(1) THAT
POWER IN THE
STATE BE-
LONGED TO
THE PEOPLE

(2) THAT
ENGLAND WAS
PROTESTANT

(3) THAT
THERE SHOULD
BE RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM

HIGH CHURCH
AND LOW
CHURCH

and political liberty. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, according to which every man has access to God in his own right, is bound to make men know and demand their political rights. Secondly, England's character as a Protestant nation was finally settled. Parliament declared this by changing the Coronation Oath so that the king was required to swear loyalty to "the Protestant Reformed religion established by law." Thirdly, freedom of worship was gained for orthodox Protestants dissenting from the Church of England. In the Toleration Act of 1689 England finally abandoned the idea of compelling all its people to hold one form of religion. Thenceforth not only the Church of England, but also the Nonconformist or, as they are now more often called, Free Churches, had liberty to maintain their life. Freedom of worship was still denied, however, to Roman Catholics.

In the reign of William and Mary there appeared in the Church of England a party division which was to have great effect on the religious life of England, and ultimately on that of America. The parties were those called High Church and Low Church. The division arose over questions of church government and the ministry. The High-Churchmen held that government by bishops was divinely ordained for the Church, that the bishops stood in succession from the apostles, and that the only valid ministry was that created by ordination at the hands of a bishop. Hence they regarded the Nonconformists as having no true min-

istry. The Low-Churchmen, although they approved of government by bishops, did not hold these "high" views, and were willing to recognize the Nonconformist ministry.

D. RELIGIOUS WEAKNESS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

English religious life for nearly fifty years after the Revolution presents a dreary picture of general indifference and deadness. In the Church of England most of the clergy were men of little earnestness. Many were worldly and selfish, mere officeholders; some were dissolute "sporting parsons." The duties of bishops and parish ministers were largely neglected. Preaching consisted mostly of theological discussions, remote from life. Little was done for the religious needs of the people, and many drifted out of relation to the church. For years no forward movements of any kind were made, no new parishes organized, no missionary work done. Nonconformists had little more vigorous life than the Church of England. The general spirit of religion in England was one of formality and coldness. Religious forms were commonly observed, but religious enthusiasm was rare.

LOW STATE
OF RELIGION

There was the greatest need for a living, practical Christianity, to grapple with the gross evils of the national life. The vices prevalent in fashionable society since the Restoration had infected other classes. The prevailing moral tone was low. Drunkenness increased much in the first half of

EVILS OF THE
NATIONAL LIFE

the eighteenth century. Poverty grew apace, the poor rates being trebled between 1714 and 1750. In the towns crime and disorder were common, in spite of the brutal penal laws. One of the worst features of the situation was that the higher classes of society were ignorant of and indifferent to the state of the lower.

E. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REVIVAL

JOHN
WESLEY'S
YOUTH

Into this state of things came John Wesley, the man raised up by God to awaken the spiritual life of England, and to bring into the world the strongest religious impulse which it has received since the Reformation. He was born in 1703 in his father's rectory at Epworth in Lincolnshire. His father was one of the few earnest and active men in the ministry of the Church of England at that time, and his mother was a gifted and saintly woman. At Oxford he distinguished himself as a scholar. Then he entered the ministry and served awhile as his father's curate. Returning to Oxford as a Greek lecturer, he became the leader of a group of students who were unusually scrupulous and methodical in their observance of religious services and college duties. Hence they were nicknamed the "Holy Club" and the "Methodists." Among them were his brother Charles and a poor student from Gloucester named George Whitefield.

WESLEY IN
GEORGIA

A few years later John Wesley went to Georgia, in answer to General Oglethorpe's call for ministers for his new colony. This experience was

brief and unsuccessful. At this time he was a man of zealous but rather severe and formal piety. He held High Church opinions, and made much of observance of the rules and seasons of the church. By narrow-minded insistence on this he came to grief in Georgia.

There he fell in with some Moravian missionaries, in whom he saw a Christian confidence and joy which he had never known. Thus began a deep change in his religious life. This went on after his return to England, under the influence of other Moravians. It culminated in his "conversion," which occurred in 1738, during a religious service in London. Of course, Wesley was not converted in the ordinary sense of the word. But he gained such a wonderful new understanding of the salvation that comes through faith in Christ, and took that salvation home to himself so much more than before, that it was a new birth for him. "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

WESLEY'S
CONVERSION

The next year Wesley did the first of the work that made him the leader in the great revival. In March, 1739, he preached outdoors to a gathering of some neglected people near Bristol, among whom George Whitefield had been preaching for a few weeks. In 1735 Whitefield had had an experience much like Wesley's conversion. Soon afterwards he became a preacher of remarkable power, drawing great crowds to hear him. He then succeeded

GEORGE
WHITEFIELD

Wesley in Georgia. During a visit to England he preached to these forsaken colliers near Bristol. To this field he now summoned Wesley.

WESLEY'S
LIFE WORK

From this time for nearly fifty years Wesley labored unwearyingly and tremendously. At first he gave his principal attention to companies of people in Bristol, London and Newcastle. In 1742 he began his marvelous work as an itinerant preacher. For more than forty years he traveled four or five thousand miles a year and preached about fifteen times a week. He visited all parts of England, and did much work in Scotland and Ireland. He often met with opposition, and sometimes with attacks by mobs, but was undaunted by any obstacles or hardships. Wherever he preached he organized Methodist "societies," really churches, though not so called. To care for them he built up his heroic company of lay preachers, to whom the permanence of the work was largely due.

WORK OF
CHARLES
WESLEY
AND
WHITEFIELD

Two other powerful workers in the revival were Charles Wesley and Whitefield. Charles Wesley was an effective preacher, but his chief contribution was made through his hymns, of which he wrote over six thousand. They were eagerly taken up by the societies, and were a great power in the movement. Many of them have won permanent places among Christian hymns. Whitefield for years was enormously active as a traveling evangelist. He did not work with Wesley, as they had early separated because of a theological difference. He made long tours in the British Isles and also in America, which he visited seven times. For

fifteen years he preached forty or more times a week. Astonishing stories are told of the power of his oratory over his great audiences. Unlike Wesley, he was merely a preacher, and organized nothing. However he exerted commanding influence by preaching.

Although the Wesleys and Whitefield were clergymen of the Church of England, they were not allowed to preach in its churches. For a long time the Anglican¹ clergy were almost wholly ignorant of the real nature and value of their work. The excitement sometimes caused by their preaching was distasteful to an age that prized moderation and restraint in all things. Their habit of preaching in other men's parishes without permission caused great complaint. For such reasons they were excluded from the churches, and from many of the clergy received either bitter opposition or contempt.

OPPOSITION OF
ANGLICANS TO
THE REVIVAL

Nevertheless the broad movement which they started could not but affect the Church of England. There grew up a strong party called the "Evangelicals," composed of clergymen and laymen who were influenced by the revival. This influence appeared in personal religion, preaching and all ministerial work, and laymen's service. Of this party were John Newton, Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages," and William Wilberforce, the great antislavery leader. Toward the end of the century the Evangelicals became dominant in the church. Since many of them were

EVANGELICAL
REVIVAL IN
THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND

¹ That is, belonging to the Church of England.

people of wealth and high place, they greatly affected the life of England.

THE
PREACHING OF
THE REVIVAL

The preaching of the revival was, as Wesley said, nothing new. It was the proclamation of God's free grace in Christ, and of salvation through faith in Christ, and the call to repentance and faith. The hymns of the revival, such as Charles Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of my soul," Cowper's "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," and Toplady's "Rock of Ages" show the great truths that were taught and learned. This old evangelical message, which for years had been almost unheard in England, was now given with passionate earnestness.

F. THE RESULTS OF THE REVIVAL

FORMATION
OF THE
METHODIST
CHURCH

One great result of the revival was the formation of a new church, the Methodist. Wesley did not desire this. He loved the Church of England, and wished that the people who became Christians under his preaching and that of his fellow workers could be taken into it. The organization of a new church was forced upon him. For the Anglican clergy were generally unsympathetic or hostile toward him for many years, until the Evangelical party gained strength. Nor did the Nonconformists make any place for his work. Gradually he formed his societies and preachers into a church, and in 1784 the Wesleyan, or Methodist, Church was fully organized. Seven years later, at Wesley's death, it had seventy-seven thousand members.

A still greater result of the revival was a

spiritual awakening of England, affecting the nation widely and deeply. Thousands of people who had been living in practical heathenism because of the neglect of the Church of England, were gathered into the Methodist societies. Most of them belonged to the working classes, and thus a powerful religious influence entered this part of English society. Through the activity of the Evangelical party, Christianity became far more of a power in the upper classes than it had been, and a far higher moral standard ruled there. The Church of England and the Nonconformist Churches to a great extent received a new spirit. A fresh enthusiasm took possession of English religious life, driving out the lukewarmness and dryness of the early eighteenth century.

This religious awakening showed itself in a wonderful enlargement of Christian service. The love of God, felt with new power through the preaching of the revival, stirred men to love and serve their brethren. Modern philanthropy or social service thus got its first powerful impetus. The first Sunday school was opened in 1780 by Robert Raikes in Gloucester. This was one of the early steps in popular education in England, as well as the beginning of the Sunday-school movement. Raikes's school was for poor children growing up in ignorance, and general education as well as religious instruction was given them. The Christian conscience of England, aroused by Wilberforce and other Evangelicals, abolished the slave trade.

SPIRITUAL
AWAKENING
OF ENGLAND

SOCIAL
SERVICE

John Howard's life for prison reform, with the work of Elizabeth Fry, gave power to this cause. The first blow was struck at child labor, under Wilberforce's leadership. Public care of the poor became more kindly and intelligent. Many hospitals and other charities were founded.

RISE OF THE
MODERN
MISSIONARY
MOVEMENT

Greatest of all the results of the revival was the rise of the modern missionary movement. Other influences, particularly recent discoveries in the southern Pacific, the "South Seas," had to do with this. But without the impulse to Christian service which the religious revival gave, the missionary revival would never have occurred. The splendid honor of leadership in the awakening of missions belongs to William Carey, a cobbler and Baptist lay preacher. In the face of contemptuous opposition he pressed on his associates his vision of the conversion of the non-Christian world. Finally in 1792 he secured the organization of the Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen. Its first missionary was Carey himself, whom it sent to his noble work in India. The Baptist example was soon followed. The London Missionary Society was formed in 1795, chiefly by Congregationalists, and the Church Missionary Society in 1799 by the Evangelicals of the Church of England. The Methodists also early took up the cause. All the great religious bodies of England felt the missionary inspiration by the end of the century. Their enthusiasm spread to Scotland, America and the continent of Europe.

VI. PROTESTANTISM IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND**A. THE COVENANTERS**

In our account of English affairs in this chapter we saw the devotion of Scotland to Presbyterianism manifested in the Solemn League and Covenant. But the restoration of Charles II was followed by a reaction like that in England. In 1661 the Scottish Parliament reëstablished bishops in the Church of Scotland and declared the king its head. It also removed from their parishes many of the ministers, and replaced them by incompetent men. Against this the people generally protested by deserting the churches and hearing the ejected ministers in their own houses or out of doors. The government then undertook to enforce church attendance by oppressive laws.

The answer to this was the rise of the Covenanters, a strong body of people who clung to the ancient Presbyterian order and to the church's independence of governmental control. The savage persecutions directed against them only made them more determined. Their opposition to the government finally became armed rebellion, ending in the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679, where they were defeated. After this some of the Covenanters promised to keep the peace. But others, called "Cameronians" after their leader, Richard Cameron, would make no submission, or recognize a government which demanded what they considered wrong. In the west of Scotland these people were hunted from place to place, men and women giv-

THE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND
MADE
EPISCOPAL

THE
COVENANTERS
AND THEIR
PERSECUTIONS

ing up homes and lives rather than violate their convictions of the will of God. Their worst sufferings came in the "Killing Times" of 1684-1688, at the hands of the terrible Claverhouse and his dragoons.

THE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND
AGAIN
PRESBYTERIAN

The persecution came to an end at the accession of William and Mary, in 1689. Then Presbyterianism was restored in the Church of Scotland, never again to be disturbed. Some of the Cameronians did not approve of this settlement because nothing was said about the Covenant which was so dear to them. Hence they refused to have a part in the reorganized Church of Scotland. Out of them grew the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

B. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN SCOTLAND

THE NATIONAL
CHURCH

The Established Church, made Presbyterian in 1689, was the Church of Scotland in much more than name, for it represented truly the religious opinions of the people. The great majority of them were Presbyterians, and of these all but a very few were in the national church. The union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707 left Scotland without any Parliament or other political institutions of its own. The Established Church became the great organization of the Scottish people.

DECLINE OF
RELIGION

Scottish religious life during the eighteenth century was marked by a general indifference and inactivity much like what existed in England before the great revival. The ministry was not enthusiastic or aggressive. When Wesley and Whitefield

entered the country, they were opposed by the Church of Scotland as they had been by the Church of England. The general revival in England did not have its counterpart in Scotland, which had to wait for its religious awakening until the nineteenth century. The missionary revival touched Scotland to some extent, two societies being founded in 1796. But in the same year the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed its famous or infamous resolution that "to spread the knowledge of the gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous." Missions were not taken up by the church until 1824.

A more earnest spirit was shown by some bodies of dissenters. They did not differ from the church as to Presbyterianism, but they were enthusiastic evangelical believers and preachers, like the followers of Wesley and Whitefield. Hence they were out of tune with the Established Church. They also objected strongly to "lay patronage," the system by which the minister of a parish was appointed, not by the people, but by the great landowner of the parish, the "patron." This was the regular method of appointing ministers in the Church of Scotland. For these two reasons two considerable bodies seceded from the Church of Scotland, forming independent Presbyterian churches.

DISSENTERS
FROM THE
NATIONAL
CHURCH

C. IRISH PRESBYTERIANISM

During the first half of the seventeenth century large tracts of land in the north of Ireland were

seized by the English Government because its possessors had been rebels. The Irish people who lived here were turned out homeless, and wandered off to the south. Their places were taken by settlers whom the government brought from Scotland and England, chiefly from the former country. During the "Killing Times" later in the century, other Scottish people fled to Ireland. Thus the province of Ulster came to be inhabited largely by Scottish people, almost all of whom were Presbyterians. This is the origin of the "Scotch-Irish" people. In the course of the next century they were badly treated by landlords. They were also interfered with by the established Church of Ireland, which was Episcopal, like the Church of England. Therefore between 1713 and 1775 many thousands of the Scotch-Irish emigrated to America, where they played a great part.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Who called the Westminster Assembly, and for what purpose? Who were its members? What did it do?
2. What was the Solemn League and Covenant? Who subscribed to it?
3. Why was not Presbyterianism really established in England?
4. What was the state of church affairs under the Commonwealth?
5. Describe the origin of the Society of Friends.
6. Describe government as carried on by the Puritans.
7. Why did many of the English people welcome the end of Puritan rule? What permanent work did Puritanism do?
8. What was the Great Ejectment? How were dissenters treated under Charles II?

9. How did James II lose his crown?

10. What three decisions were made by the Revolution of 1689?

11. What was the origin of the "High-Church" and "Low-Church" parties?

12. Describe the religious and moral condition of England in the early eighteenth century.

13. Describe the early life of John Wesley, and his "conversion."

14. Describe his work after his conversion.

15. Describe the work of Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

16. What was the effect of the Wesleyan revival on the Church of England?

17. Describe these results of the eighteenth century revival;

a. The formation of the Methodist Church. Why did Wesley form a new church?

b. The general spiritual awakening of England.

c. The social service movement.

d. The missionary awakening.

18. Who were the Covenanters? How were their persecutions ended?

19. Describe Scottish religious life in the eighteenth century. Why did some Presbyterians secede from the Church of Scotland?

20. What was the origin of Irish Presbyterianism?

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," pp. 258-274; Section III, 18.

G. M. Trevelyan: "History of England," Book IV, chs. II-VIII; Book V, ch. I.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," pp. 470-480.

Beveridge: "History of the Westminster Assembly."

Braithwaite: "The Beginnings of Quakerism."

R. M. Jones: "George Fox, Seeker and Friend."

J. S. Simon: "The Revival of Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century."

Lunn: "John Wesley."

Winchester: "The Heart of Wesley's Journal."

Bready: "England Before and After Wesley."

J. R. Fleming: "The Burning Bush," chs. XII-XVI, on Scottish Presbyterianism; ch. XXI, on Irish Presbyterianism.

Smellie: "Men of the Covenant."

CHAPTER XVI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE

I. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

A. THE PAPACY AND NAPOLEON

The opening of the nineteenth century saw the papacy in great humiliation. In 1801 Napoleon, then ruler of France, made with Pope Pius VII the Concordat, a kind of treaty defining the relations of the Roman Catholic Church in France and the government. By this "the Church was harnessed to the State," being made in great part subject to the government, though also supported by it. These terms involved a serious loss of authority for the Pope, but he was helpless before the all-powerful Napoleon. When the Pope, as sovereign of the Papal States, disobeyed his wishes in a matter of European policy, Napoleon entered Rome with an army, annexed the Papal States to his empire (1809), and made the Pope a prisoner.

THE PAPACY IN
HUMILIATION

B. THE CHURCH FROM 1814 TO THE VATICAN COUNCIL

Upon Napoleon's downfall, Pius VII returned to Rome, and the Papal States were reestablished. Among the rulers who now controlled Europe the Roman Catholic Church had much favor, because it was a conservative force in politics, counting

ROMAN
CATHOLIC
REVIVAL

against the progress of democracy and likely to be a safeguard against any more overturnings such as the French Revolution. Moreover, the whole tendency of thought in Europe for the time was reactionary. What belonged to the past was prized above what belonged to the modern world. This condition was friendly to Roman Catholicism, the form of Christianity developed in the Middle Ages and still remaining substantially medieval. Thus the Roman Catholic Church, after it had passed through a time of some depression in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, now received a revival of power. In its revived condition, it set its face strongly against modern progress of all kinds, and developed its medieval elements.

THE MAGNIFY-
ING OF THE
PAPACY

The most important of these elements was the absolute supremacy of the Pope. A significant and far-reaching feature of the Roman Catholic awakening was the revival in 1814 of the order of the Jesuits, the soldiers of the papacy. Chiefly under their direction, a vigorous campaign to exalt the papal monarchy was waged throughout the church.

PIUS IX

All these tendencies found fullest expression in Pius IX, who had the longest of all pontificates, from 1846 to 1878. During these years he shaped the policy which the Roman Catholic Church has had to this day. Undoubtedly he sincerely believed, just as much as any medieval Pope believed, that limitless authority belonged to his office by divine right. In 1854 he declared that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the

Virgin was a part of the faith of the church. Thus he took to himself the right to define doctrine, which hitherto had been exercised only by general councils. Naturally he added his tremendous power to the work that was going on for the magnifying of the papal office.

The papacy's hostility to the progress of the modern world, manifested in various ways since early in the nineteenth century, was fully declared by Pius IX in the Syllabus of Errors, issued in 1864. In this document many precious elements of modern liberty and civilization were denounced as "errors." Such are freedom of conscience and worship, the idea that the church ought not to use force to carry out its will, separation of church and state, freedom of schools from church control, the regulation of marriage by the state, the idea that the state has authority superior to the church. Pius IX's successor, Leo XIII, declared (1878) that the statements of the Syllabus had the authority of infallibility. Therefore they may fairly be taken as expressing the spirit of the papacy in the nineteenth century.

THE PAPACY
HOSTILE TO
PROGRESS

C. THE VATICAN COUNCIL

This was a general council, the first held after that of Trent. Its meeting and decisions were the outcome of the campaign to exalt the papacy. They were also the climax of the whole policy of Pius IX. He manipulated everything most carefully, before and during the council, so that it should decide as he had planned. Out of about

seven hundred bishops composing the council, a quarter were opposed to the well-known purpose of the Pope and the Jesuits to get a decision for papal infallibility. In character and education, these men were the strongest part of the body. Their opposition, however, was ineffectual, and the decrees of the council were finally voted almost unanimously, in July, 1870.

Among the decrees, that concerning infallibility attracted most attention. But one other decision was very important. It declared the Pope's authority to be unlimited and immediate in every part of the church. He was thus made an absolute monarch. The statement of the doctrine of papal infallibility was worded in a very guarded way, so that there has been considerable dispute among Roman Catholics as to how much it means. It does not say that in every utterance the Pope is infallible, but that "the Roman Pontiff, when . . . he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals as to be held by the universal Church, . . . possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his church to be equipped in defining doctrine concerning faith and morals." By this decision and the one concerning the Pope's authority, all the powers formerly belonging to general councils were given to the Pope, so that now his supremacy can in no way be challenged.

PAPAL
MONARCHY
ABSOLUTE

INFALLIBILITY

D. THE LOSS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER

The movement for a united free Italy, which began in 1848, went on until, by 1860, both the

northern and the southern parts of the country had come under the rule of an Italian king, Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont. But across the peninsula at its middle stretched the Papal States. The patriot leaders and the whole Italian people saw that Italy could never be one while the papal sovereignty remained. Pius IX would yield nothing, thus setting the papacy in opposition to the national ideals of the Italians. In 1870 Victor Emmanuel, having previously annexed to the kingdom of Italy large portions of the Papal States, entered Rome with his army. The city was added to his kingdom, the people voting almost unanimously for this, and made the capital of Italy. The Pope was no longer a temporal ruler. The king of Italy reigned in Rome.

But the Popes never regarded him as having any right there. Though treated by the Italian Government with great consideration, and allowed to keep full control over the Vatican, they steadily protested against the whole situation, insisting that the Holy See had been robbed. After 1870 no Pope went into the streets of Rome, for to do that, it was said, would be to recognize the government which ruled there. The Pope remained a voluntary "prisoner in the Vatican."

THE
"PRISONER
IN THE
VATICAN"

E. THE CHURCH AFTER 1870

In the decade of the 1870's the church had a significant contest with the German government. Some liberal Roman Catholics who could not accept the decrees of the Vatican Council formed in 1873

THE KULTUR-
KAMPF

the Old Catholic Church. This held "to the Catholic faith as certified by Scripture and tradition" but denied "the new dogmas enacted under . . . Pius IX." It acknowledged "the primacy of the Roman bishop" but rejected the powers given to the Pope by the Vatican decrees. It declared for "a reformation of various abuses of the Church, and a restoration of the rights of the laity." It was friendly toward the Eastern Church and Protestant churches. In its beginning German intellectuals were the leaders of this church. These German professors and priests, having been excommunicated, were forbidden to teach or to officiate in churches. But the government, regarding the dogma of papal infallibility as dangerous to the power of the state, upheld them. Hence came a conflict between church and government. Laws restricting the church were enacted; the church under the leadership of Pius IX resisted; the government enforced its will by severe measures. Really what was at issue here was the supremacy of the state. Soon the government realized that it could not coerce the church and repealed most of the anti-Roman Catholic laws.

LEO XIII

Pius IX was succeeded in 1878 by Leo XIII, a man of high culture, notably shrewd and tactful. He held to the fundamental policy of his predecessor and abated nothing of the papal claims. He opposed separation of church and state and taught that the ideal political order was the state in partnership with the Roman Catholic Church. But he was diplomatic in methods, especially in his

relations with European governments. His pontificate of twenty-five years was mostly tranquil and advantageous to the church.

II. PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT

A. GERMANY

The opening of the century found German Protestantism much depressed. The break-up of governments under Napoleon's hands had been a serious blow to church organization, for the churches of the Protestant states of Germany were established churches. Religious life still suffered from the weakness prevailing in the later eighteenth century.

RELIGIOUS
WEAKNESS

But very soon there came a decided revival of religion. With it came rebuilding of religious organizations. In 1817 a new national church, called Evangelical, including both the Lutherans and the Reformed, was formed in Prussia. This example was generally followed in the other Protestant states of Germany. The union was not approved, however, by the stricter Lutherans, and some of them formed independent churches.

REVIVAL,
AND NEW OR-
GANIZATIONS

A feature of the religious revival was a great increase in the study of theology and the Bible. Germany soon exercised strong influence over the religious thought of Great Britain and America. This activity of German Protestantism on the intellectual side of religion, and this influence over thought in other countries, continued to the First World War.

THE INTEL-
LECTUAL SIDE
OF RELIGION

CHURCH GOV-
ERNMENT

In 1873 a new constitution was given by the government to the Evangelical Church of Prussia, which then comprised two-thirds of the German Empire. Under this the church was governed by a general synod and provincial and district synods. The previously existing state control was made even more rigid, which was not helpful to the church's life. In several Protestant states the situation as to organization was about the same as in Prussia. There were also separate Lutheran and Reformed churches and smaller Protestant communions.

In general the Protestant and Roman Catholic portions of Germany in 1900 were about what they were at the close of the Thirty Years' War. Of the population of the empire in that year sixty-two per cent were Protestants and thirty-six per cent Roman Catholics.

B. FRANCE

Protestantism was put by Napoleon on the same basis as Roman Catholicism, that is, it received financial support from the government and was under government control. Thus there arose two French established churches, Reformed and Lutheran. The former, much the larger, continued the old church of the Huguenots. About the middle of the century came a division in the Reformed Church. After a widespread revival of evangelical Christianity, a considerable number of its clergy and laity thought that the church was not sufficiently in sympathy with such teaching. They

therefore left it and formed free churches, separate from the state. Later in the century in the established Reformed Church two groups differing theologically developed, which held separate synodical meetings. Thus at the end of the century French Protestantism was in considerable division. Its religious life was vigorous, however, and its service active. Protestants numbered about 650,000, a very small part of the population, but they had influence far beyond their numbers.

C. HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, SCANDINAVIA, HUNGARY

In Holland the old Reformed Church, formed in the sixteenth century, remained the state church, though it was practically self-governing. About the middle of the century, as in France, there was a powerful evangelical revival, and many of those influenced by it became dissatisfied with the teaching of the state church. They formed a free church, called Christian Reformed, which by the end of the century had become strong. There were several smaller Protestant churches and a considerable number of Roman Catholics.

In Switzerland religious affairs continued to be regulated by the cantons separately, as they had been since the Reformation, except that in 1874 the federal constitution guaranteed full freedom of conscience and worship. Protestantism and Roman Catholicism held about the same parts of the country as in the sixteenth century, over three-fifths of the people being Protestants. Each canton had its own established church or churches; for in some

both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism were established. In some cantons free Protestant churches were formed during the century, partly because of an evangelical revival like those of France and Holland.

In Denmark, Norway and Sweden the Lutheran Church remained established, as at the Reformation. Nearly all the people of these nations belong to this church, but all three have religious liberty.

Over one-fifth of the people of Hungary were Protestants. Of these a third were Lutherans, and the remainder, consisting almost wholly of people of the Magyar race, were Calvinists.

III. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

A. ENGLAND

Three great movements ran through English religious life during the whole nineteenth century, and still are powerful. These we may call the Evangelical, the Liberal or Broad Church, and the Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic movements. All of the three have had much influence on American religious life.

1. The Evangelical Movement

POWER OF THE MOVEMENT

At the opening of the century the Evangelical movement was the greatest power in English religious life. Thus continued the influence of the revival of the preceding century. It was represented in the Church of England by the Evan-

gelical party,¹ containing many eminent clergymen and laymen; and it ruled the Nonconformist or Free Churches. Personal religion and church life were to a great extent marked by the enthusiasm and fervor created by the revival. The tide of philanthropic service and missionary work to which the revival had given rise was flowing strongly.

The chief marks of the Evangelical movement were two, aggressive activity in Christian service and intense personal piety. Of these an example is William Wilberforce, whose great career belongs to both this century and the preceding. Devotion to the Bible was another mark of the Evangelicals. While there were many educated men among them, they were not greatly interested in the study of theology. Their main concern was with the practical use of Christian truth. The religious ideas they most dwelt upon were those emphasized in the eighteenth century revival—God's love in Christ, salvation through faith, the atonement, the new birth.

The Evangelicals of the Church of England were thoroughly loyal to their church and approved of its episcopal government. But they were willing to work with Nonconformist ministers and churches. Their chief interest was not in the church and its organization and rites. They considered the preaching of the gospel more important than the sacraments. They did not pay great attention to matters of ritual. Thus they held the position of

ITS TYPE OF
RELIGION

THE
EVANGELICALS
AND CHURCH
QUESTIONS

¹ See pp. 277, 278.

the old "Low-Church" party.¹ They were stanch Protestants, putting the Bible above the teaching of the church.

The Evangelical movement continued to be a power in England through the century. It produced earnest personal religious life, a sensitive conscience of national evils, zealous effort for the public good, abundant charities, and ever-growing missionary work. Within the Church of England the Evangelical spirit at the end of the century had less ascendancy than at its beginning, though still vigorous. In the Free Churches it remained the ruling influence, forming their life.

2. The Liberal Movement

The main interest of the Liberal or Broad Church movement was in the search for a better understanding of religious truth. Early in the century there was a revival of study having this object, caused largely by the influence of German philosophy and theology. Scholars devoted themselves with enthusiasm to the study of the Bible, church history, Christian doctrine, and the whole realm of theology. The spirit of this labor was desire for truth, and willingness to put aside old ideas if they were found untrue. In a word, this was a progressive theological movement. Its leaders, however, were all very earnest on the moral side of religion.² They sought for larger knowl-

A PROGRESSIVE
THEOLOGICAL
MOVEMENT

PRACTICAL
EMPHASIS

¹ See p. 273.

² The name "Broad Church" arose from the fact that these men wished the test of admission to the church to be, not orthodox belief, but Christian character.

edge of Christian truth for the sake of truer Christian living. Some of them were among the first to have the vision of social Christianity, that is, to see that Christianity must rule the common life of men in business and in work and in all their relations.

Some of the leaders of this movement were F. D. Maurice, the theologian, Thomas Arnold, historian and schoolmaster of Rugby, Frederick Robertson, the great preacher, Charles Kingsley, and Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott. One of the best examples of its spirit was Dean Stanley, who was so much honored both in England and in America.

LEADERS
OF THE
MOVEMENT

The Liberal movement went on powerfully during the century in both the Church of England and the Free Churches. It produced many works of scholarship and enlightened thought, and brought much vigor and intelligence into English religious life. It spread confidence that Christianity has nothing to fear from the progress of knowledge and thought. In other English-speaking countries, particularly in Scotland and America, it had much influence, quickening thought on all religious questions.

ITS RESULTS

3. The Tractarian Movement

The Tractarian or Oxford movement was in some degree a revival of the ideas of the old "High-Church" party¹ of the Church of England. In other more important respects it was a new thing, produced by the political and religious condi-

CONDITIONS IN
WHICH IT
AROSE

¹ See p. 272.

tions of the time. In England the fury and bloodshed of the French Revolution had caused many people to look with dread on all increase of the power of the people. A spirit of conservatism, clinging to the past and fearful of political changes, was widespread. But in the years following 1830 the democratic movement made great advances in England. The greatest advance was the passage of the Reform Bill, which made the House of Commons much more truly representative of the people. This meant, of course, that the people had more power over the Church of England, since that was ruled by Parliament. About the same time other laws took away from the national church some of its privileges. Furthermore, the Liberal movement was causing men in the church to change some of their theological ideas, and to reject parts of the church's teaching. Some men in the Church of England felt that all these changes were very dangerous to the church, and therefore to Christianity in England and to English national life.

THE OXFORD
LEADERS

So thought a group of remarkable young men at Oxford University. Foremost among them were John Keble, Fellow of Oriel College, and John Henry Newman, vicar of the University Church, who was exercising commanding power in Oxford by his personality and his wonderful preaching. Before long they were joined by an older man who brought them much strength, Edward Pusey, professor of Hebrew, one of the most influential men in Oxford. Deeply religious, and strong High-

Churchmen, they feared for their church. It was in danger, they thought, from theological and political changes, especially from the latter. The way to save it, they decided, was to spread abroad right ideas about the nature of the church. Their belief was that if people were brought to realize that the church was a truly divine institution they would rouse themselves to defend it.

THEIR
PURPOSE

Accordingly these Oxford men began in 1833 to issue the famous "Tracts for the Times," in which they set forth what they considered right ideas about the church. They emphasized the apostolic succession of bishops, and the church's God-given authority to teach the truth and rule men's lives. They asserted that its teaching was equal or superior in value to the Bible. They dwelt much on the sacraments, to which they ascribed an actual saving power. As an ideal for the Church of England, they held up the Church of the first five Christian centuries. Then, they said, the Christian Church was undivided, catholic, including all Christians. It taught truth and ruled life with authority. It had everywhere its bishops and its priests ordained by them. It rightly regarded the sacraments. While some of these historical ideas were fanciful, the Tractarians believed them enthusiastically. They called themselves Catholics, on the ground that they were in agreement with this early catholic Christianity. They refused the name Protestant, because it referred to a division in the Church.

TRACTS FOR
THE TIMES

THE
TRACTARIAN
MOVEMENT
AND WORSHIP

Public worship was an exceedingly important part of religion to the Tractarians. They insisted on daily service in churches, and frequent celebration of the communion. They believed strongly in the religious value of symbolic actions in worship, such as turning toward the altar, bending the knee, and burning incense, and of symbolic furniture and ornaments, such as lights on the altar, crosses and rich clerical vestments. They also believed that the worship of God ought to be made as beautiful as possible, by the use of all the faculties which God has given man, by music and architecture and painting.

CONVERTS TO
ROMAN
CATHOLICISM

It was clear that the ideas of the Tractarians would take some of them into the Roman Church. Movement in this direction was hastened by the thunderbolt known as Tract No. 90, written by Newman in 1841. He asserted that the Thirty-nine Articles, the creed of the Church of England, were not necessarily Protestant. This amounted to a claim that a man might be practically a Roman Catholic and yet stay in the Church of England. Partly because of widespread condemnation of these views, a number of the more extreme Tractarians reached the conclusion that it was impossible to be "Catholics" and not Roman Catholics, and eventually went into the Roman Church. Of these the most prominent was Newman, who was later made a cardinal. During the years 1845-1851 some hundreds of Anglican clergymen, including many members of Oxford University, took the same course.

The great majority of the Tractarians, however, stayed in the Church of England. From the middle of the nineteenth century their ideas were more and more adopted among the Anglican clergy and laity. Religion became more churchly and more priestly. The authority of the church in teaching was exalted, scrupulous observance of its rites insisted on and a high doctrine of the sacraments inculcated. Many clergymen ministered in priestly manner, for example hearing confession. Worship in many churches was much more ritualistic and elaborate. From the concern for beauty in worship resulted important improvements in architecture, decoration and music in churches.

TRACTARIAN
INFLUENCE
IN THE
ENGLISH
CHURCH

The names Tractarian and Oxford as applied to this movement gave way to the name Anglo-Catholic. Anglo-Catholics were Anglicans who valued supremely the unity of their church with the Church catholic or universal and sought to bring their church into conformity with catholic doctrine, worship and religious usage. In practice this meant considerable following of Eastern Orthodox and even more of Roman Catholic examples. But Anglo-Catholics did not accept the supremacy of the Pope.

ANGLO-
CATHOLICISM

This movement caused a real revival of religion and of work for the people in parts of the Church of England. Some of its most devoted clergy were Anglo-Catholics. It also caused some increase of religious formalism and practices appearing to be superstitious. It kept open the separation between the Church of England and the Free Churches; for

ITS EFFECTS

Anglo-Catholic insistence on the necessity of bishops in the apostolic succession forbade recognition of the Free Churches as churches, and the Free Churches protested against Romanist tendencies.

In English-speaking Protestantism generally the entire movement caused a worthier idea of the church, a higher appreciation of common worship and greater dignity and beauty in worship. American church life profited much in such ways.

4. The Free Churches

One of the principal features of English religious life during the century was the growth of the Free Churches, the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Society of Friends and some smaller communions. They increased in numbers till at 1900 they had about as many members as had the Church of England. They were much strengthened by the considerable advance of their people in intellectual culture, position in national life and wealth. They established strong educational institutions. Their teaching and life generally were of Evangelical character, but they shared largely in the intellectual and spiritual gains of the liberal movement and felt some Anglo-Catholic influence in worship and thought. They maintained a vigorous church life, with preaching of high character, and displayed much activity at home and in missions. They wielded considerable power in politics through their keen conscience of social righteousness. The Free Churches had common organizations, national and local, which in-

creased their influence. Their place in English Christianity and world Christianity was far larger in 1900 than in 1800.

B. SCOTLAND

1. *Religious Awakening*

The eighteenth century religious depression in Scotland was largely swept away by a revival in the early years of the nineteenth, due chiefly to the influence of the English revival. The experience of the great Thomas Chalmers illustrates this. His early ministry was formal and lifeless. His real interest was in his own studies, not in his people. But a spiritual revolution took place in him. His faith was greatly deepened and strengthened, and an enthusiastic consecration to Christ took possession of his life. He became a devoted pastor and a fervent preacher of the gospel. Such awakenings came to many Scottish ministers.

The new spirit showed itself in the general life of the Church of Scotland. New parishes were formed and churches built to care for the growing population of the towns, where many people had been living in heathenism because of the church's neglect. The church awoke to its missionary duty, and in 1829 sent to India Alexander Duff, a noble leader of the noble line of Scottish missionaries.

2. *The Disruption*

The religious revival was in large part the cause of a revolt in the Church of Scotland against the

REVOLT
AGAINST LAY
PATRONAGE

system of "lay patronage."¹ A stronger spiritual life made many people in the churches impatient of a system which allowed a minister to be appointed for a church by a man who might not be a member of the church or even a religious man at all. Another cause of the revolt was the democratic movement, felt in Scotland as everywhere else in Europe. The growing sense of the rights of the people inspired a widespread demand for the people's right to choose their own ministers.

THE CHURCH
IN CONFLICT
WITH THE
STATE

The revolt against lay patronage came to a head in 1834, in the passage by the General Assembly of the Veto Act, providing that if a majority of the male heads of families in a parish disapproved of the minister nominated by the patron, the presbytery must refuse to install him. The matter was taken into the civil courts, and the decision was against the Veto Act. Thus the law said in effect that the Church of Scotland was not free to choose its own ministers. To very many in the church this was an intolerable situation. Escape could be had only by leaving the Established Church.

THE
DISRUPTION

So there came about the historic "Disruption" of 1843. More than a third of its ministers and thousands of its people left the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland. Among them were a majority of the most religious and zealous ministers and laymen of the country. For leaders they had the strongest men of the Established Church, the foremost being Chalmers. The

¹ See p. 283.

church formed by them was Presbyterian, having the same creed and government as the church which they had left.

3. The Churches of Scotland After the Disruption

On account of the splendid organizing work of Chalmers and the wonderful generosity of the people, the Free Church had at its very start a full equipment. It had its congregations everywhere and its presbyteries. In four years over seven hundred churches were built. A theological college was opened in the first year. All the missionaries of the Church of Scotland, except one, joined the Free Church, which at once assumed their support. Through all its history the Free Church had a noble record for the learning, ability and zeal of its ministry, its Christian service at home, its spirit of social righteousness, its missions, and its progressive religious thinking.

To the Established Church the Disruption proved a stimulus. It soon rallied its forces and entered on a period of enlarged activity and growth. In 1874 lay patronage was abolished, and congregations allowed to choose their ministers. This gave the church added popular favor, and was one of the causes of its still further advance in numbers, influence and service of all kinds.

Soon after the Disruption another Presbyterian Church was formed in Scotland. In the eighteenth century two churches had been formed by seceders from the Established Church.¹ In 1847 one of

THE FREE
CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND

THE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND

THE UNITED
PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH

¹ See p. 283.

these and two churches which had been produced by disputes in the other came together to make the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

UNITED FREE
CHURCH

Thus three strong Presbyterian churches existed in Scotland late in the nineteenth century. The desire for church union which grew among Protestant Christians at this time was earnest in Scotland. In the 1890's the Free and United churches were drawing together, and in 1900 they united as the United Free Church of Scotland.

IV. MISSIONS IN EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY

A volume would be required to give a mere outline of the history of Christian missions in the nineteenth century, during which Christianity expanded more widely and rapidly than in any other time of its history. The contact of Europe with Asia, Africa and the South Seas and the control of European nations over these parts of the earth constantly increased during the century, and with this went the spread of Christianity. For the facts of its expansion among the non-Christian peoples the books on modern missions must be consulted. Here only a few things will be said about the home base in European Christianity.

ENGLAND

The modern missionary movement began, we have seen,¹ in England late in the eighteenth century. There during the nineteenth it was ever stronger. The Church of England had two influential societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the former on

¹ See p. 280.

the whole representing Low-Church Anglicans and the latter High-Church. All the Free Churches had important missionary agencies. Many undenominational English societies such as the China Inland Mission, formed in 1865, carried on missions and circulated the Bible and Christian literature. The work of the societies, already expanding, was much quickened in the late 1850's by the opening of Japan, China, India and Africa on a far larger scale to missions, and further by a missionary revival in the 1870's. To the end of the century the English societies enlarged and developed their work.

The missionary movement came to Scotland early in the nineteenth century, as a part of its general religious awakening,¹ and from that time continuously gained power. No Christian missions were more generously supported or more devotedly and wisely carried on than the Scottish.

Protestant Germany early felt the contagion of the English missionary revival. In 1822 the Basel Society was formed, and by the middle of the century six other organizations supporting missionaries were at work, most of them being undenominational. From Holland the Netherlands Society for Propagating Christianity began to send missionaries in 1817, and several other societies were formed later. The French Protestants took up missionary work in 1824, and before 1850 societies were organized in Switzerland and in the three Scandinavian countries. Thus by the middle of the

SCOTLAND

GERMANY

HOLLAND

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND
SCANDINAVIA

¹ See p. 305.

nineteenth century continental Protestantism generally was awakened to missionary purpose, and was maintaining a work which grew from that time.

The modern missionary enthusiasm was not confined to Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church, which had a strong force of workers in the field while Protestantism was yet unawakened, was stirred to greater efforts. Like the Protestant churches, it grasped the opportunities offered by the opening of the world to intercourse, and its missions were much enlarged.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What caused a revival of the Roman Catholic Church early in the century?
2. How was the power of the papacy increased during the century?
3. What was the papacy's attitude toward progress and liberty during the century?
4. Describe the union of German Protestants in 1817.
5. What was the situation of French Protestantism?
6. Describe the religious opinions and religious life of the English Evangelicals. What was the effect of this movement?
7. Describe the Liberal movement in England.
8. What was the origin of the Tractarian movement?
9. What were the teachings of "Tracts for the Times"? What were the ideas of the Tractarians about public worship?
10. What was the relation between the Tractarian movement and Roman Catholicism?
11. What has been the influence of the Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic movement, in England and elsewhere?
12. Describe the progress of the Free Churches of England during the century.

13. Describe the Disruption of the Church of Scotland and the history of the Free Church.

14. Describe the missionary awakening in England and Scotland. How far did the awakening spread on the Continent?

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," Section IV, 22; Section V, 29-32.

W. Walker: "History of the Christian Church," pp. 558-563; Period VII, section xiii.

Cheetham: "History of the Christian Church Since the Reformation," chs. IX, XI, 1, 3, on Roman Catholicism; ch. X, 2, on French Protestantism; ch. XI, 4, 5, on Protestantism in Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries; ch. VIII, 1-6, on England and Scotland.

Nielsen: "History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century," Vol. I, chs. X-XIII; Vol. II.

Bury: "History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century."

Alzog: "Universal Church History," Vol. III (Roman Catholic—see Contents).

Cornish: "History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century," Parts I, II (see Contents).

H. L. Stewart: "A Century of Anglo-Catholicism," chs. I-VIII.

J. R. Fleming: "The Burning Bush," chs. XVI-XX, on Scottish Presbyterianism.

J. R. Fleming: "The Church in Scotland, 1843-1874"; "The Church in Scotland, 1874-1929," chs. I-IV.

Latourette: "The Great Century" ("History of the Expansion of Christianity," Vol. IV), on European Christianity and missions, 1800-1914.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN EUROPE

I. POLITICAL HISTORY TO 1935

Some of the political and social changes resulting from the First World War which vitally affected the position of Christianity and the Christian Church will be here mentioned.

RUSSIA

During the war, in March, 1917, revolution broke out in Russia. The monarchy was overthrown and the country soon came under the control of the extreme or Bolshevik wing of the Socialist party. In the early 1920's Russia was organized as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was ruled by the Communist party. The first dictator of the party and therefore of Russia was Lenin, on whose death in 1924 Stalin succeeded. During the twenties industry, agriculture and education were ordered according to the purposes of the Communist party. The Communist state dominated the whole life of Russia. Down to the present time (1941) the state ruled by Stalin exercises complete control and receives allegiance amounting to worship.

GERMANY

In Germany the imperial regime was swept away by a popular rising in the last days of the war. In the same month, November, 1918, the German Republic was proclaimed. In 1919 it received what is called the Weimar constitution. The republic stood securely until 1930. It survived financial

chaos in the early 1920's, then ran into more prosperous times after 1924. Economic decline beginning in 1929 made the opportunity for the National Socialist or Nazi party under Adolf Hitler. In 1933 this party by propaganda and violence gained control of the government and Hitler became practically dictator. The Nazi doctrine of the totalitarian state was put into effect, according to which the state is supreme, all citizens must absolutely obey it, democracy and liberty disappear. All political parties except the Nazi and all labor organizations except that established by the state were abolished. All dissent was crushed by persecution. A program was launched for making Germany independently strong, with an ultimate view to war for greater territory and power.

In Italy the World War was followed by disorganization of industry and commerce, worthless money and widespread unemployment and distress. In the resulting unrest revolutionary groups produced considerable confusion. A party arose which stood for order and the strengthening of Italy. It took the name Fascist; *fasces* was the Latin name for the bundle of axe and rods which were the symbol of the authority of the Roman consul. The Fascist party found a dynamic leader in Benito Mussolini. By organization, arms and violence it became dominant in all parts of the country. In 1922 Mussolini, marching on Rome with a Fascist army, seized the government, the king submitting. Thus become dictator, he solidified his power until in 1928 a complete Fascist parliament was elected,

ITALY

only the Fascist party voting. The whole life of the country was organized on the totalitarian principle, in universal subjection to the state. As in Germany, totalitarianism sought the glorification of the nation and looked finally to war for increase of national power. Thus Russia, Italy and Germany manifested a new religion, the worship of the state.

At the close of the war five states were created or restored on the borders of Russia—Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania. In place of the Austro-Hungarian Empire there appeared Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. Serbia and Rumania received large territorial additions from this former empire and Serbia became Yugoslavia. France received Alsace-Lorraine from Germany. Poland contained some former German territory.

II. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

A. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

1. Modernism

A significant event in Roman Catholic history in the early twentieth century was the Modernist movement and its suppression. Modernism arose in the 1890's. It consisted then in the application of modern scholarship to the study of the Bible and church history by men who rebelled against the medieval methods imposed by Pius IX and Leo XIII. It developed into a general progressive theological movement. The Modernists were not Protestants, but they held that the intellectual life of the church should be allowed to express itself

freely. Then Modernism broadened further into a revolt against many of the ideas and policies of the modern papacy. The Modernists favored religious liberty and the separation of church and state. About 1900 this movement was widespread in Italy, France, Germany and England. Books and journals expressing its ideas were numerous.

A campaign against the movement was begun by Pope Pius X in 1907. Publication, teaching and study were restricted by church discipline. The French scholar Loisy was excommunicated and the Irish theologian George Tyrrell virtually excommunicated. By such use of authority the movement was brought to an end so far as concerned utterance, though it continued secretly.

2. Relations of the Papacy with European States

In the late nineteenth century, after the conflict over the anti-Roman Catholic laws, there was a good understanding between the German government and the papacy. During the First World War this friendliness was marked. After the war Roman Catholic influence increased in Germany. But the rise of the totalitarian state under Hitler created an entirely new situation. The state's assertion of total control over life was intolerable to the church. After many difficulties and open controversy, during which some of the clergy boldly denounced the Nazi government's claim of unlimited authority, a concordat was made in 1933 between Pius XI and the government, which seemed for a time to be a basis for harmony. But conflict again arose, and by

GERMANY

1935 relations between the papacy and the German government were as strained and hostile as they could be without definite breach.

FRANCE

In France opposition to the Roman Catholic Church arose in the latter part of the nineteenth century, because in the early years of the Third Republic, that is, from 1870, the church favored a monarchy. This anticlerical feeling was increased by the great wealth of the monastic orders and their influence through their schools. In 1901 the Law of Religious Associations required all orders to get license from the state and forbade members of unlicensed orders to teach. The consequence was that many orders left the country and education fell entirely into the hands of the state schools.

SEPARATION
OF CHURCH
AND STATE
IN FRANCE

Controversy over this law between Pius X and the government further roused popular hostility to the church. The outcome was the separation of church and state in 1905. The government broke off the concordat with the papacy made in 1801. State support of the churches, Roman Catholic and Protestant, and state authority over them ended. The very large property acquired by the Roman Catholic Church since the Revolution was appropriated. But it was enacted that churches should be used freely for worship, provided the property was held by associations of laymen subject to the state. Pius X fought all this, denouncing the separation of church and state and forbidding action under the law of separation. After two years of conflict a new law allowed the priests to use the church buildings under contracts with the

mayors. The church won a partial victory. But church and state had been separated. Church property had been made public and many buildings other than churches had been put to public uses.

The loss of state support proved a spiritual gain to the church. The people were stimulated to new devotion. The First World War caused a better feeling between the church and the nation. Many priests fought in the ranks and the "sacred union" of all the French went far to heal the breach. A kind of declaration of peace was made by Pius XI in 1924. But out of 41 million people of France the Roman Catholic Church claims only 10 million.

In Spain the constitution of the republic established in 1931 separated church and state, declared church property to belong to the state, gave religious liberty and put education under the state. Pius XI protested against the constitution, and papal opposition continuing supported the revolt against the new order beginning in 1936.

SPAIN

3. The Temporal Power Restored

In the early twentieth century and during the First World War the papacy continued its protest against what was asserted to be deprivation of its rights as a temporal government. The coming of Fascism brought new conditions. Fascism and the church were somewhat sympathetic as representing authority and opposed to liberalism, though they were rival authorities. Furthermore Mussolini desired whatever would give prestige to Rome and Italy. Hence in 1929 a treaty was made between

**THE PAPAL
STATE**

the Holy See and the Italian kingdom. This recognized a new state, the City of the Vatican, comprising the Vatican palace, St. Peter's and a small area adjoining. Over this the Pope has absolute rule. Thus the papacy regained its position as a territorial sovereignty. The papacy also recognized the Italian kingdom with Rome as its capital. Other mutually advantageous arrangements were made. The bishops must swear loyalty to the government; marriage should be under church law; compulsory Roman Catholic teaching should be given in schools. Since 1929 there have been some difficulties, because Fascism with its worship of the state and its total control over life is really incompatible with the church. But outwardly harmonious relations have been maintained between church and state.

*4. General History***CANON LAW**

The Roman Catholic Church strongly expressed its authority in the new Canon Law, promulgated in 1918 by Benedict XV and made binding on all Roman Catholics. The law declares that the church is a sovereign power deriving from God; that it is a perfect society, i.e., competent to be a complete organization for human life; that it has sovereign rights of property and propaganda; that it is not subject to any civil sovereignty and in case of conflict the church's authority must prevail. Thus the claims made in the Middle Ages still stand, though for reasons of expediency they may not be practically asserted. The emphasis on authority which the Roman Catholic Church has

made in various ways has concerned specially the papacy. In its practical interpretation of religion the church has moved along the line of the exaltation of the papacy accomplished by the Vatican Council.

In connection with the movement for Christian unity of the twentieth century it has been made clear that the Roman Catholic Church does not recognize other churches as Christian churches. It maintains its claim to be the Church of Christ. It has not responded to approaches from other churches.

ATTITUDE
TOWARD
OTHER
CHURCHES

After the First World War it was sometimes said that the Roman Catholic Church had won the war. The new states of Poland and Austria were overwhelmingly Romanist. Concordats were made by the papacy with various countries of central Europe, for example Bavaria, which strengthened the church's position. The diplomatic relations of the papacy were so enlarged as to increase the church's influence. Bishops' sees and monastic orders became considerably more numerous on the Continent. Activity was greater in education and charities. The Catholic youth movement attracted many young people. In the disordered and despairing state of large parts of central Europe after the war the unity and authoritative teaching of the Roman Church had a strong appeal.

GAINS AFTER
FIRST
WORLD WAR

A marked feature of the larger activity of the Roman Catholic Church after the war was an intellectual awakening. Many thinkers of high order

INTELLECTUAL
ACTIVITY

have upheld the church's teachings. A new philosophical school has developed, the neo-Thomist, reviving the thought of the medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas. Books and periodicals have been published to a much greater extent. Educational institutions have increased in numbers and in their bodies of students. While there has been no relaxation of the church's hostility to any questioning of its authority or to teachings such as those of Modernism, there has been a strong and measurably successful attempt to ally the Roman Church with intellectual progress. This awakening has caused some intellectuals in European countries to go over to Roman Catholicism.

The state into which Europe was plunged by the Second World War has put a question mark after many of these recent gains of the Roman Church, as after other things narrated in this chapter.

SOCIAL
TEACHING

One of the most important events in Roman Catholic history of the present century was the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* on social questions of Pius XI in 1931. This strongly condemned the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few, the hopeless poverty of many industrial and agricultural laborers, wages below human needs, harmful conditions of work. It said that the present industrial system destroys character, and that human welfare ought to be above profit. This papal declaration has been called a program for a Christian society. While it maintains that the solution of social problems ought to be under the control of the church, undoubtedly it is a powerful in-

dictment of existing evils. It has had great influence in the Roman Church everywhere and beyond it.

B. PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT

1. *Germany*

Before the First World War Protestant organization in Germany was as described in the preceding chapter. The Protestant churches were almost all churches of the various states, under strict state control. Religious life was not very strong because of a good deal of dry rationalism among the clergy and of the use of the churches by the government to promote nationalism. Anti-religious socialism caused a movement of withdrawal from the state churches.

In the revolution of 1918 church and state were separated. But there was not such hostility to the church as in Russia, and the Protestant churches were not willing to lose all connection with the state. Hence under the new constitutions of the German republic and the states, while the churches were not state churches, they yet were related to the state and had power to levy taxes. In 1921 the German Evangelical Church Federation was formed, consisting of twenty-eight of these churches of various states, Evangelical, Lutheran and Reformed. These contained the great majority of German Protestants. Besides these there were free churches, Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, Methodist and others. The state churches gradually reorgan-

NEW
RELATION
TO STATE

ized to suit the new situation. With their new constitutions, giving the laity a voice in church affairs, they became people's churches as never before.

The Protestant churches survived the terrible conditions after the First World War and in the late 1920's showed considerable vitality. There was a strong Inner Mission work for evangelism and social service, and an active youth movement. Pietist groups revived devotional life.

**THE
CHURCHES
UNDER NAZI
GOVERNMENT**

The Nazi totalitarian government demanded subordination to the state of the Protestant churches as of other organizations. Nazi anti-Semitism forced the issue. The government required adoption of the "Aryan paragraph," restricting church membership to Aryans. Many congregations and individuals submitted, becoming "German Christians." A large body resisted, maintaining the Confessional churches, so-called because they hold to the Lutheran and Reformed confessions. These churches have made a brave stand for their right to be true to the gospel. They have suffered loss of financial support, imprisonment of pastors and people, closing of training schools for the ministry. The Second World War makes it impossible to describe existing conditions.

2. France

The separation of church and state in 1905 compelled the Protestants to support their churches, which they soon learned to do well. It also helped to overcome the divisions of the Reformed Church.

Two bodies were formed, the Union of Evangelical Churches and the Union of Reformed Churches, the latter somewhat more liberal theologically. In 1905-1907 a Federation of the Protestant Churches was organized, including, besides the Reformed, Lutheran, Evangelical Free, Baptist, Methodist. During the First World War French Protestantism suffered severe losses in lives and finances, but at the end of the war it gained by the addition of the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Alsace and Lorraine. After the war came a revival of activity. Protestantism carried on a specially important work in home mission and social service, was well represented in foreign missions, maintained theological education of high character and evinced much earnest religious life in its churches. Such was the situation until the Second World War.

3. Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia

In Holland the state of Protestantism in the twentieth century is about what it was in the late nineteenth. About half of the population belong to the Reformed churches, established and free, other Protestants being comparatively few.

In Switzerland partial disestablishment took place early in the century in three important cantons. In 1920 the Swiss Church Federation was formed, consisting of all the cantonal churches and some free churches. After the First World War Swiss Protestantism felt a strong interest in movements representing world Christianity. Many important meetings of this character were held in

Switzerland, such as the Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927.

After the separation from Sweden in 1905 Norway was an independent kingdom. Its people, as always since the Reformation, are overwhelmingly Lutheran. The Lutheran state church is divided theologically but has been stimulated by the influence of the social interpretation of Christianity in other countries.

Sweden has a strong Lutheran state church, active in missions, home and foreign. In the present century it has made important contributions to theology and church unity, largely under the influence of Archbishop Söderblom, one of the chief leaders of world Christianity.

Denmark also is almost wholly Lutheran and has a Lutheran state church, whose life and service are of high character. The activity of its laymen is notable.

4. Central Europe

CZECHO- SLOVAKIA

When Czechoslovakia became an independent republic in 1918, a religious revolution occurred. About thirty per cent of the Czechs left the Roman Catholic Church. A numerous independent Catholic church separate from Rome was formed. The Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, an ancient church of the Reformed family, rose quickly to large activity. There were also Slovak and German Lutheran churches and a Magyar Reformed church. Protestantism made rapid progress while the republic lived.

AUSTRIA

In Austria the early twentieth century saw an

important movement away from the Roman Catholic Church, which continued after the First World War. When Austria became independent, although the country remained strongly Roman Catholic its old Lutheran and Reformed churches, the former much larger, showed considerable vigor. The union of Austria with Germany has thrown them into confusion.

Because of the territorial losses suffered by Hungary after the First World War the Reformed Church was reduced to about one-half of its former strength. But it remains a church of over a million and a half members, maintaining its life and institutions in the face of decreased members and the deeply disturbed condition of the nation. Hungary has also a Lutheran church about a third as large as the Reformed.

HUNGARY

5. The Eastern Countries

During the independent life of Poland Protestants numbered about four per cent in a population of which three-quarters were Roman Catholics. Their churches, Lutheran, Reformed and Evangelical, were making their way courageously while Poland lived.

In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, while they were independent, there were active Lutheran churches consisting in each country of a majority of the population. In Finland the people are almost all Lutheran and there is a long history of strong Lutheran church life.

In Russia after the revolution of 1917 there were

Protestants of many sorts: Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Baptists, Methodists, Stundists, a group akin to Baptists. The subsequent anti-religious policy of the government has made it very difficult for these churches to live.

C. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

1. *England*

a. *The Church of England*

The three movements described in the preceding chapter continue significant.

EVANGELICAL

A considerable group goes by the name Evangelicals. In general they carry on the tradition of nineteenth century Evangelicalism. But they have been much affected by the liberal movement and the social interpretation of Christianity. They maintain their devotion to missions. They are a power for union with the Free Churches. Not as strong comparatively as a hundred years ago, they are active, holding conferences, publishing and controlling educational institutions.

LIBERAL

A vigorous organization, the Modern Churchmen's Union, represents the Broad Church or liberal movement in able scholarship, liberty of thought and strong social interests. Beyond this organization an influence of kindred character is strong in much of the life of the church. Free critical study of the Bible and church history is widespread. This movement opposes some features of Anglo-Catholicism, especially its ecclesiastical exclusiveness

and the tendency to what are considered superstitious forms of worship.

The Anglo-Catholics are organized in the English Churchmen's Union. They include many clergymen of ability, scholarship and religious devotion and many influential laymen. One of their leaders thus interprets the meaning of Anglo-Catholicism in religious practice: "The dignity of worship, the veneration for the ministerial office, the authoritative teaching, the need for Absolution, the general emphasis on sacramental grace, the conception of the Eucharist as depending on the presence of the sacrificed Christ." In worship the tendency to Roman ideas and usages mentioned in the preceding chapter appears in the observance of "mass," the teaching of the Real Presence in the consecrated elements, reservation of the sacrament and adoration of the reserved elements. Among Anglo-Catholics there is much radical thinking about the relation of Christianity to society. While it is not a majority movement Anglo-Catholicism has been strong enough to control the policy of the church in relation to other churches, favoring the intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox Church which has been secured and opposing union with the Free Churches.

A proposal for revision of the Book of Common Prayer was occasioned by Romanizing practices not authorized by the church. Attempts to control these having failed, a revision containing some things desired by Anglo-Catholics was put forward by the church authorities in the hope of satisfying them and thus preserving church discipline. But this

ANGLO-
CATHOLIC

REVISION
OF BOOK
OF COMMON
PRAYER

was rejected by the House of Commons in 1928 because it was regarded as compromising Protestantism. This manifestation of the control of the state over the church caused some agitation for disestablishment. It also aroused interest in the new constitution of the Church of England granted in 1919, under which some authority over the church is given to a National Assembly chosen by baptized persons who have qualified as electors. By this arrangement the Church of England has lost something of its character as a national church and come nearer to being a church belonging to its own members.

b. The Free Churches

The Free Churches, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Society of Friends, are strong and active as in the nineteenth century, but somewhat less inclined to assert themselves against the Church of England. This is because of a stronger sense of unity among the churches of England, shown in approaches toward union. The same force has appeared in the formation of a federation of the Free Churches, and in the union of all branches of English Methodism. Among the three movements in English religious life the position of the Free Churches is in general as described in the preceding chapter. Their combined members are about the same in comparison with the Church of England. All their work in England and the foreign field is carried on under a high sense of responsibility. Their importance in the life of the

nation is much greater than would be indicated by the space here given to them.

2. Scotland

In 1901 there were two large Presbyterian churches containing the great majority of Scottish Christians, the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland. They agreed in every respect except that one was free and the other established. Negotiations for union were interrupted by the First World War and resumed after it. An act of Parliament of 1921 recognizing that the Church of Scotland was of right free from state control removed the main obstacle. The two churches united in 1929 as the Church of Scotland. This maintains the strongly organized work of the churches in missions at home and abroad and the theological education which has distinguished them. In Scotland there are also three small Presbyterian churches produced by dissent from unions, and Baptist, Congregational and Methodist churches. In the present century the Roman Catholic Church has grown considerably because of immigration from Ireland.

CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND

D. EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH

1. Russia

The first revolution of 1917 established religious freedom and opened the way for a reconstruction of the Russian Church. But in a few months the coming of the Soviet government changed the scene. In January, 1918, the church and state were separated,

CONFLICT OF
CHURCH AND
STATE

so that the church lost its large subsidy; all the property of the church was nationalized; all church control on schools was abolished; religious instruction of children in schools and churches was forbidden. Resistance of the church to this program, especially to the confiscation of its property, brought on a war between church and government, which caused the church to be regarded as "counter-revolutionary." A division of the church resulted from the attempt of a group within it to make terms with the government.

ANTI-
RELIGIOUS
POLICY OF
GOVERNMENT

In 1929 the government inaugurated its open anti-religious policy. Churches were allowed to do nothing more than hold meetings for worship; all organization and teaching and social service were forbidden; many churches were closed; Sunday observance was abolished; a strong atheistic propaganda was launched, directed specially toward children and young people. Many priests and religiously minded people were imprisoned, and persecution took other forms. The result of this policy, which is in force at 1941, has been to reduce the Russian Church to a shadow of its former self. Few churches are open, and they are attended mostly by older people. Anti-religious opinion is strong. Dissenting groups struggle to maintain themselves under persecution.

2. Other Eastern Countries

The Eastern Orthodox Church consists of independent churches, mostly national, which have unity through their doctrine and tradition. No

prelate is its head as is the Pope in the Roman Catholic Church. The Russian Church is one of this family of churches.

The patriarchate of Constantinople, highest in dignity among the parts of the church, which formerly included the Orthodox Christians in Turkey, lost much through the expulsion of Greeks from Turkish lands after the First World War. The church of Greece has had a troubled life since the war because of political disturbances.

While Poland was independent there was a very numerous Orthodox church in that part of the country which had been Russian territory; but this has returned to Russian rule. There has been the same history regarding the much smaller Orthodox churches of Estonia and Lithuania.

When Serbia was enlarged to become Yugoslavia a new national church was formed, much stronger than the Serbian. The church of Rumania gained in numbers when the country gained in territory, but has suffered with its recent losses. Other parts of the Eastern Church are the church of Bulgaria and the small patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria.

On the whole the history of the twentieth century has brought severe losses to the Eastern Church.

E. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The modern missionary movement, which had acquired so much power among the Protestant churches of Europe and of the world in the nineteenth century, continued into the twentieth with

ADVANCE
IN EARLY 20TH
CENTURY;
EDINBURGH

increasing enthusiasm and larger service. This appeared in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, which was largely representative of the Protestant churches of the world, and far excelled previous meetings of this kind. Missionary work in all its aspects was thoroughly studied and plans for advance were laid. Out of this conference grew the International Missionary Council, a permanent body expressing the interest of churches all over the world. The First World War seriously interrupted missionary work, decreasing support, severing interchurch relations and deeply disturbing some fields. But from most of the losses there was quick recovery. The war even stimulated missions by bringing all parts of the world closer together and strengthening the sense of human unity.

FIRST
WORLD WAR

The continued vitality of the missionary enterprise showed itself in another world conference, at Jerusalem in 1928. This differed from Edinburgh in that the younger churches produced by missions were much more influential. Here appeared a far-reaching change in missions, a transfer of leadership from Europeans and Americans to "natives." Another change was evident, the growth of unified work on the part of the churches. The Jerusalem Conference gave a new impulse to missions generally. But the world depression beginning in 1929 materially lessened support and compelled some retrenchment. At the same time there were signs of questioning concerning missions, especially in that their appeal to young people seemed to be weakening.

EFFECT OF
DEPRESSION

This whole situation led to the formation in the United States of the "Laymen's Foreign Missionary Inquiry," an independent body of churchmen which conducted a study of missions in most of the principal fields. Its conclusions, strongly supporting the enterprise but proposing important changes in thought and methods of work, were published in 1932 in "Rethinking Missions." Following this came a period of discussion of fundamental ideas of missions and of missionary policy. This and the continuance of smaller financial resources, along with the threat of war, brought about a somewhat critical time for missions. But the faith and conviction which had inspired Christian missions reasserted themselves and the work was carried forward strongly, in the face of difficulties. The energy of the movement expressed itself memorably in another world conference at Madras in 1938.

"RETHINKING
MISSIONS"

MADRAS

The greater activity of the Roman Catholic Church which has been noticed has shown itself in foreign missions. In the twentieth century the Roman Church all over the world has enlarged its missions and developed their support. Much more than before the church has become pervaded by missionary purpose.

ROMAN
CATHOLIC
MISSIONS

F. CHRISTIAN UNITY; THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

The Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 did much more than strengthen the missionary cause. It gave new energy to the movement for Christian unity which had been rising for a generation. From this conference resulted the pro-

posal, made by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, for a world conference of the Christian churches, with a view to a stronger unity. Delayed by the war, the World Conference on Faith and Order finally met in 1927 at Lausanne, Switzerland. This was largely representative of the Christian churches of the world, except the Roman Catholic Church. It was especially significant by containing delegates of the churches of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which thus joined the movement for world Christian unity. The conference revealed a strong desire for unity and general agreement in doctrine, but difficulties in the way regarding order, that is, the ministry and church government. A continuation committee was formed to promote study and otherwise prepare for another world conference.

Meanwhile the spirit of unity had expressed itself otherwise. Just at the outbreak of the First World War there was held in Constance, Switzerland, a meeting out of which grew the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Immediately after the war this organization took up the idea of a council of churches to consider "the practical tasks of Christian life and service" and seek Christian unity along this line. Hence came the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1925, which produced the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work, a permanent organization with a central office at Geneva, Switzerland.

Thus from the late 1920's two endeavors for

unity, Faith and Order, Life and Work, were advancing among the Christian churches of the world. Furthermore the International Missionary Council worked powerfully to the same purpose, as appeared in the Jerusalem Conference of 1928. In 1937 the movement for Christian unity, or the ecumenical movement as it was now called, found a momentous expression. The Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State was organized by the Council on Life and Work. Immediately after it the Second World Conference on Faith and Order met in Edinburgh. These conferences contained delegates of Christian churches from all continents, except the Roman Catholic Church. They were the most important gatherings representative of world Christianity ever held. Their spirit was that of the words of the Oxford Conference, "We are one in Christ." The conferences produced influential documents expressing the Christian mind on questions of Life and Work and Faith and Order. They greatly strengthened the spirit of unity among the Christians of the world. They adopted plans for a World Council of Churches, which already is organized to a large degree. While the world is being torn asunder by war the Christian Church is becoming more really one.

OXFORD,
EDINBURGH

WORLD
COUNCIL

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What was the common characteristic of the histories of Germany, Russia, Italy in this period?
2. Describe Modernism and its outcome.
3. What were the relations of the papacy with the German government?

4. Describe the separation of church and state in France and its results.
5. What is the extent of the temporal sovereignty of the papacy? What agreements were made between the Italian government and the papacy in this connection?
6. Describe the gains of the Roman Catholic Church after the First World War.
7. Describe the relation of the German Protestant churches to the state after the revolution of 1918.
8. What has been the experience of these churches under the Nazi government?
9. Describe religious events in Czechoslovakia.
10. Describe the situation of the three movements in the Church of England.
11. What was the significance of the attempt to revise the Book of Common Prayer?
12. What is the state of the Free Churches in England?
13. Describe church union in Scotland.
14. What is the policy of the Russian government regarding religion, and its results?
15. Describe the progress of missions early in the century.
16. Describe later difficulties and how they were met.
17. What is the meaning of Lausanne-Edinburgh and of Stockholm-Oxford in regard to Christian unity?
18. What were the results of the Oxford and Edinburgh conferences?

READING

Schevill: "History of Europe," pp. 677-682; 39-43, on Europe from the Versailles Treaty to 1937.

A. L. Lilley, ed.: "The Programme of Modernism" (containing Pope Pius X's encyclical against Modernism).

Civis Romanus: "The Pope Is King," on the restoration of the temporal power, Roman Catholic.

A. Keller: "Church and State on the European Continent" (1936), on separation of church and state in France and church-state relations in Germany, Italy, Russia.

Keller-Stewart: "Protestant Europe, Its Crisis and Outlook" (1927).

Macfarland: "The New Church and the New Germany."

H. L. Stewart: "A Century of Anglo-Catholicism," chs. VIII-XII, on the Liberal and Anglo-Catholic movements.

Henson: "The Church of England" (1939), on twentieth century conditions.

J. R. Fleming: "The Church in Scotland, 1874-1929."

Spinka: "The Church in the Russian Revolution," and "Christianity Confronts Communism."

Van Dusen: "For the Healing of the Nations," on contemporary missions.

Leiper: "World Chaos or World Christianity," on the Oxford and Edinburgh conferences.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

I. THE EARLIEST ENTERPRISES

A. PROTESTANT

Christianity was first brought to the present territory of the United States by Huguenots. In 1562 a band of them settled at Port Royal, South Carolina. Others settled near St. Augustine, Florida, in 1564-1565. The former settlement was early abandoned; the people of the latter were soon massacred by Spaniards from St. Augustine.

B. ROMAN CATHOLIC

1. Spanish Missions

St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States, was founded by the Spaniards in 1565. From it as a center an extensive religious work was carried on for many years among Spanish settlers and the Indians. But soon after Florida became an English possession (1763), this Christianity almost totally disappeared.

Far to the west, also, Spanish Christianity early got a foothold. In 1598 Spaniards from Mexico established a colony in New Mexico, which, like all their settlements, was a missionary station. The Indians of this region received a rapid but very shallow Christianization. After a great Indian re-

bellion in 1680 the Spaniards reestablished mission stations, most of which are still Roman Catholic centers. Such was the origin of the old Christianity of the Spanish population and the Indians of this southwestern country.

The California Franciscan missions among the Indians were of later date. The first, at San Diego, was founded in 1769, and twenty others followed in quick succession. For a while they prospered greatly. The Indians were gathered into communities, where they were instructed in Christianity and in agriculture and industries, and kept under strict discipline. But when the Mexican Government, which then ruled California, released them from the control of the friars (1834), most of the Indians soon went back into paganism.

2. French Missions

From the foundation of Quebec in 1608 the French pushed their settlement of Canada enthusiastically and rapidly. Religious work was a prominent feature of their policy. Quebec and Montreal became strong religious centers, containing institutions richly endowed and served by the best men and women the French Church could provide. La Salle's explorations of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi (1678-1682) showed to the French the possibility of a great empire. This they strove to make their own by planting a line of posts, military, commercial and religious, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. Many missionaries, mostly Jesuits, carried

on far-reaching, heroic labors on both sides of this line. They worked all along the Great Lakes, in Northern New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and down the Mississippi to Louisiana. But the grand designs of the French were all spoiled in 1763 when England got possession of Canada.

Thus two great plans of empire, either of which would have made Roman Catholicism supreme in North America, came to nothing. The religious foundations of the United States were to be laid by Protestants.

II. THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

A. FROM THE FOUNDATIONS TO THE GREAT

AWAKENING

(A. D. 1607-1728)

1. New England

PLYMOUTH COLONY

The first settlement in New England, the second in the thirteen colonies, was made for purely religious reasons. About 1600 a number of devout English people in Lincolnshire became greatly dissatisfied with the Church of England. Like the Puritans, they objected strongly to the fact that in its worship and government there remained certain features of the medieval church. But unlike the Puritans,¹ they held that the Church of England could never be reformed so as to be a true Church of Christ, and that they must leave it and establish a new church. They organized them-

¹ See p. 227.

selves into a church, meeting for worship in two places, at Scrooby Manor and Gainsborough. Being persecuted for this, they fled in 1608 to Holland. After a few years they decided to go to America. For this purpose they struck a bargain with the London Company, one of two corporations to which James I had given Virginia, a great tract on the Atlantic Coast.

On December 21, 1620, about a hundred of these "Pilgrims" landed from the "Mayflower" on the shore of Cape Cod Bay. This was the foundation of Plymouth Colony. The colonists had no need to organize a church, for they already were one, and their church life went on without interruption. Their minister had stayed behind, but they had a strong religious leader in their elder, William Brewster. Their first year was one of terrible suffering, but the colony soon began a solid growth, under the wise leadership of Governor Bradford.

From their first appearance, the Puritans hoped and worked to bring about the changes which they desired in the Church of England.¹ But under the rule of Archbishop Laud, beginning about 1625, they found themselves bitterly persecuted for worshiping and teaching as they thought right. After fifty years and more, what they desired seemed further off than ever. In many the hope of reforming the church grew dim. Knowing of the settlements in Virginia and at Plymouth, they thought of America as a place where they would have religious freedom. The first permanent settlement was made

MASSACHU-
SETTS BAY
COLONY

¹ On the Puritans, see pp. 226-229.

in 1628 at Salem, Massachusetts, and by 1640 fifteen thousand Puritan colonists were living there, at Boston and in other towns about Massachusetts Bay.

The Plymouth Colony was made up chiefly of devoted people of humble station. But among these Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony were many men of comfortable means, good position and advanced education. The colony was a body of people exceptional for moral character, intelligence and energy.

CONNECTICUT
AND NEW
HAVEN
COLONIES

Within a few years two other Puritan colonies came into being. One, called Connecticut, was begun at and near Hartford (1634-1636) by emigrants from Massachusetts. The other, New Haven, was founded (1638) by people who came directly from England.

RELIGION IN
THESE
COLONIES

All four of these colonies, since their people agreed in religious opinions, developed the same kind of religious life. Though there were many Presbyterians among the colonists, the churches which they formed were all Congregational; but in Connecticut a considerable element of Presbyterianism developed in the relations between the churches. Worship in the churches was without liturgy and severely plain, the sermon being its great feature. The ministers were of high character and good education, and were the most influential persons in their communities. The churches exercised a rigid discipline over the conduct of their members. Religion was the dominant force in life in early New England. It was Puritan religion—strongly Bibli-

cal, thoughtful, zealous, severe, and constantly brought to bear on the life of the individual and the community. The provision very early made for common schools and a college (Harvard was founded in 1636) insured that it should continue to be an intelligent religion, and that the whole life of these colonies should be alert and progressive. No greater good has ever come to American religious life and to the whole life of our country than the molding of these influential New England colonies by Puritan faith and courage and conscience.

The Puritans did not intend to establish general religious liberty. They came to America to get liberty for what they thought the right kind of religion. To this kind they intended that everyone in their colonies should conform. The Congregational churches were really established. Taxes were levied for the support of their ministers. In Massachusetts and New Haven only members of the churches had the right to vote. Religious meetings other than those held in the churches, and religious teaching differing from that given in them, were not allowed. In Massachusetts, Baptists and Quakers were persecuted, especially the latter, four of them being put to death in 1659-1661. Toward the end of the seventeenth century a better spirit began to prevail, and persecution ceased.

The intolerance of the Massachusetts Puritans caused the foundation of Rhode Island. Roger Williams, a minister, high-minded, gifted and eloquent, was banished from Massachusetts in 1635, for objectionable political and religious utterances. He and

THE PURITANS
AND RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY

FOUNDATION
OF
RHODE ISLAND

a few companions settled at Providence. Having adopted Baptist teachings, he laid the foundation there of the first Baptist church of the New World, in 1639. Other exiles from persecution in Massachusetts found homes in other places about Narragansett Bay. Out of these settlements was formed the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Here absolute religious liberty prevailed from the first. The strongest religious body was the Baptist.

2. The Middle Colonies

NEW YORK

The colony of New Netherlands, later New York, was a purely commercial enterprise of the Dutch West India Company. The first settlers, being not of the best sort of Dutch people, did not have much of the religious earnestness characteristic of the Dutch. Nor did the Reformed Church of Holland do much for the spiritual welfare of the colony. A Reformed church was organized on Manhattan Island in 1628, fifteen years after the first settlement was made. But not until 1633 was there a permanent minister of the gospel. Then a wooden church was built, and in 1642 a stone structure. From these beginnings has come the great Reformed (Dutch) Church of this country. But it was long before its life became vigorous. In 1660, when there were ten thousand people in the New Netherlands, there were but six Reformed ministers.

THE DUTCH
CHURCH

MANY PEOPLES
AND FORMS
OF RELIGION

Even at this early time, New York, New Amsterdam as it was then called, was cosmopolitan. Be-

sides the Dutch there were in the city people of many nations, who had their different religious organizations; for a considerable degree of religious liberty was allowed by the Dutch government. There were Huguenots, New England Puritans, Scotch Presbyterians, Swedish and German Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Jews.

The colony became an English possession in 1664. Although the English Government did not interfere with the Dutch Church, it of course introduced and favored the Church of England. This was the beginning of the strength of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City. The Church of England, however, did not display much activity at this time. Hence in the early eighteenth century religious life in New York was feeble.

THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND

New Jersey had in its early population several different religious elements. Some Dutch people had settled there before it became an English possession (1664). After that a good many New Englanders came into East Jersey, most of whom held Presbyterian rather than Congregational views. A number of Scottish Presbyterians, leaving their country during the "Killing Times,"¹ found homes in the same region. The first inhabitants of West Jersey, living chiefly between Camden and Trenton, were English Quakers.² Persecuted at home, they came hither because several wealthy Quakers,

NEW JERSEY

¹ See p. 282.

² On the Quakers, see p. 268. During the reign of Charles II (1660-1685), thirteen thousand Quakers were imprisoned and three hundred and thirty-eight died in prison or of wounds received in assaults in their meetings.

among whom was William Penn, had acquired the land and offered to their brethren a refuge (1676).

PENNSYLVANIA

Penn, a leader of the Quakers, in 1681 received from Charles II of England an enormous tract of land in America. Upon it he founded a colony, as a safe home for the members of his religious fellowship, and also as a commercial enterprise. His "Frame of Government" assured entire civil and religious liberty, and he offered land very cheap. Within a few years thousands of English and Welsh Quakers, people of high character and deep piety, the best sort of colonists, came to Pennsylvania. In 1700 it had a population of twenty thousand, and Philadelphia, laid out in 1682, was a flourishing town.

THE GERMANS OF PENN- SYLVANIA

The religious freedom of Penn's colony drew other persecuted peoples besides the Quakers. Many members of several German sects who were suffering for their religious beliefs, the largest being the Mennonites¹ and Dunkers, came early in the eighteenth century. A still larger number, amounting to many thousands, came about 1710 from the Rhine Palatinate. This country had been ravaged by the French, and its peasants reduced to abject misery, because Huguenots had found shelter there. These people from the Palatinate were the original members of the German Reformed Church. After them many German immigrants, including many Lutherans, came to Pennsylvania, not fleeing from persecution, but seeking to better their condition.

MARYLAND

The territory of Maryland was granted by Charles

¹ See p. 232.

I in 1634 to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. For many years the colony was managed by him and his descendants as a business. The Calverts were broad-minded Roman Catholics. Partly in order to attract settlers to their colony they adopted a policy of religious liberty from the beginning. Two Jesuits came with the first colonists, the first Roman Catholic priests to settle in the thirteen colonies. The great majority of these colonists, however, were Protestant Englishmen. Later came Presbyterian Puritans driven out of Virginia, Quakers, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, the advance guard of the great immigration of this people. Some of the churches of the first presbytery, that of Philadelphia, formed in 1706, were in Maryland.

When Maryland became a royal colony (1691), the Church of England was established. Taxes were levied for its support, and dissenters from it deprived of some civil rights. Its clergy were very inferior, and it amounted to little as a religious force.

3. The South

The first settlers of Virginia and of the thirteen colonies (1607), though not a very respectable company, had among them a Christian minister, worthy of his calling. This man, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of the Church of England, conducted services until his early death. Thus at the beginning the Church of England was set up in Virginia, and it remained the church of the colony. In the first years, however, it was the Puritan element of the English Church which had most influence in

VIRGINIA

the management of Virginia. But in 1631 a governor was appointed who hated Puritanism and persecuted the Puritans, driving out many of them. Moreover the people generally were very different from the Puritans in character, especially when the great Cavalier immigration had taken place. After the execution of Charles I thousands of the Englishmen who had taken his side against the Puritans came to Virginia.

THE ANGLICAN
CHURCH IN
VIRGINIA

Strict conformity to the Church of England was required in the colony. The church was established and supported by taxes. But it had little religious life, because the clergymen sent to it from England were men of small ability and poor character. Hence clergy and church had slight influence with the people. By the early eighteenth century religious conditions had become very unfavorable.

THE CAROLINAS

In both the Carolinas, which were settled in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Church of England was established. But in North Carolina it never became at all strong, and in South Carolina it included only a small part of the people. In both colonies Quaker evangelists, among them the famous George Fox,¹ did very successful work late in that century. Both later received bodies of people who brought with them earnest religious life—Huguenots, Swiss, Germans and Scotch-Irish in North Carolina; Huguenots, Scotch, and English dissenters in South Carolina.

GEORGIA

None of the colonies had a more distinctly Christian origin than Georgia, founded in 1733. Gen-

¹ See p. 268.

eral Oglethorpe, a young English philanthropist, planned the colony as a refuge for sufferers under the brutal penal laws of England, and for all victims of injustice and persecution. The first people to come were prisoners whom he brought over, and a band of Lutherans exiled from the archbishopric of Salzburg.

B. FROM THE GREAT AWAKENING TO THE WAR
OF INDEPENDENCE

(A. D. 1728-1775)

The early eighteenth century was a time of religious and moral weakness in the colonies. In New England this condition was so evident that there was much lamentation over it. The strong conviction and zeal of the first generation of Puritans did not appear in their descendants, who had not had the inspiring experience of coming to the new country for religious freedom. The churches required for admission to membership a testimony of religious experience which few could make. Therefore only a minority of the people were church members. The current preaching, moreover, insisting on man's inability to turn to God, was depressing. We have seen the state of things in New York. In Pennsylvania, Quakerism, the dominant form of religion, had lost much of its enthusiasm and evangelistic ardor, perhaps because of great material prosperity. In Maryland and Virginia the established Anglican Church had little vigor.

RELIGIOUS
DEPRESSION
IN THE EARLY
EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY

**THE GREAT
AWAKENING**

In this time of need came the "Great Awakening." Jonathan Edwards, a young man of extraordinary intellectual and spiritual gifts, was pastor at Northampton, the chief town of Massachusetts outside of Boston. In 1734 he began to preach with great power, calling for immediate repentance and faith. Northampton was profoundly stirred, and the revival spread to neighboring towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Even before this there was a similar though much less important movement in New Jersey. Gilbert Tennent, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick, in 1728 began to preach in a way that brought vital religion into his own church and others near by.¹ In 1739-1741 there was a revival among the Puritan and Scotch Presbyterians of Newark. In Virginia an awakening began spontaneously, without preaching, because of the reading of religious books. It was furthered by the work of Presbyterian and Baptist evangelists. While new religious life was thus appearing in many places in the colonies, the eloquent George Whitefield came to strengthen the movement. In 1739-1741 and 1744-1748 he preached all along the coast from Georgia to Maine, everywhere drawing enormous crowds and making a profound impression. His tours were followed by widespread evangelistic work in New England on the part of Edwards and other leading ministers.

**WHITEFIELD
IN AMERICA****RESULTS OF
THE
AWAKENING**

Thus a powerful revival stirred almost the whole population of the colonies. Church membership was greatly increased, and many new churches were

¹ See p. 257.

formed. The Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist bodies were all much enlarged. Missionary interest in the Indians was aroused. David Brainerd's short but greatly influential work for them was a direct product of the revival. The Awakening enabled the American churches to endure a coming time of trial. For forty years from the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1745, the people of the colonies were intensely absorbed in war, political agitation, and war again. Religion suffered greatly, and would have suffered much more but for the preparation which the revival gave.

While the Awakening was going on, there were coming into the colonies many thousands of a people who were to have a great influence in American history, religious and otherwise, the Scotch-Irish.¹ Their great immigration took place between 1713 and 1750, and again in 1771-1773. Most of them came to the middle colonies, and sought the "back country." Many settled in Pennsylvania, and many others moved southward along the Appalachian Mountains into western Virginia and Carolina. These people were all Presbyterians, firmly attached to their church. They had a zealous piety, and great vigor and independence of character.

The Germans of Pennsylvania were not touched by the Awakening, on account of the barrier of language. In 1741 Count Zinzendorf² visited the

**THE
SCOTCH-IRISH**

**RELIGIOUS
CONDITION OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA
GERMANS**

¹ See p. 284.

² See p. 258.

Moravians in that colony, organized them into congregations, and encouraged them to missionary work among both the whites and the Indians. Seeing there thousands of Germans of various sects without religious care, he sought to bring them into a kind of religious union. This project stirred sectarian zeal in the old country. The Lutherans of Germany sent Henry Muhlenberg, who organized the Lutherans of Pennsylvania into churches and synods. The Reformed Church of Holland sent Michael Schlatter, who did similar work for the German Reformed people in that colony.

LUTHERANS**GERMAN
REFORMED****METHODISM
IN AMERICA**

The Methodist movement touched America in 1766. In that year Philip Embury, who had been a Methodist local preacher in Ireland, began to preach in New York City. From this time the Methodist societies multiplied and grew rapidly. In 1771 Francis Asbury was appointed by Wesley to direct American Methodism. His strong leadership and the untiring zeal of his preachers caused the Methodist Church to grow very fast, even during political excitement and war. Its chief strength in these early days was in the southern colonies.

**RELIGION AND
THE WAR OF
INDEPENDENCE**

It is commonly said that the war for the independence of the colonies was brought on by a dispute over taxation. But religious feeling did much to cause desire for freedom from British rule. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians, together making the majority of the people, feared that the British government would soon establish the Church of England in all the colonies—it was already established in some—and require all their

inhabitants to obey its authority. Since their fathers had come to America to escape this, they had no mind to submit to it. This produced desire for independence, quite as much as did indignation over the Stamp Act and other measures of taxation.

III. THE UNITED STATES

A. RECONSTRUCTION AND REVIVAL AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

All the churches suffered greatly during the war. Many of their men died in it, and many others suffered morally in army life. In some cases congregations were scattered, ministers driven away, and church buildings destroyed. Since the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies stood solidly for independence, their ministers and churches were special objects of British attack. Religious life generally was much weakened, as it almost always is by war. The anti-religious spirit of the French Revolution had considerable influence, especially because of the help given by France to the Americans in the war. Unbelief and religious indifference became widespread. During the two decades after the war, American Christianity had less vitality than at any time of its history.

Nevertheless the birth of the new nation demanded of the churches reorganization. The Anglican Church of the colonies severed its connection with the Church of England and took the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church. American Methodism also became independent, and at the

RELIGIOUS LIFE
WEAK AFTER
THE WAR

REORGANIZA-
TION OF
CHURCHES

same time got its first superintendents or bishops, Thomas Coke and Asbury. The Presbyterian Synod formed itself into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The Congregationalists of New England formed state associations. The Roman Catholic Church, then numbering only eighteen thousand members, was put under an American "prefect apostolic," who soon became a bishop.

RELIGION
AND THE CON-
STITUTION

One of the greatest benefits ever received by American Christianity was an action taken in the formation of the government of the United States respecting the religious policy of the government. The first amendment to the Constitution (1791) provided that there should be no established religion. The principle of the new nation was to be, in later words, "a free church in a free state."

MANY
REVIVALS;
SECOND
AWAKENING

The grave religious weakness already noted was totally removed by a series of revivals which covered a large part of the country at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. In many places the new life sprang forth and spread. There were no leaders as prominent as those of the Great Awakening. The preaching was mostly done, in the older parts of the country, by resident pastors. The movement was lasting, revivals being practically continuous for a generation in some regions. It was strongest in New England, in central and western New York and Ohio, then being settled by New Englanders, and in Kentucky and Tennessee. Few parts of the country escaped its influence.

The revivals greatly and enduringly strengthened the religious life of the nation. They opened a long period of vigor and aggressive activity. The new strength which they brought was needed, for the American churches had great tasks before them in the coming growth of the nation.

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, TO 1830

Certain definite results of these revivals meet our attention at the opening of the century. Church membership very greatly increased. In 1830 the Methodists were more than seven times as many as they were in 1800, the Presbyterians more than four times, the Baptists more than three times, and the Congregationalists twice as many, despite great losses through the Unitarian movement.

Several new religious bodies were produced. That which took the name "Disciples" was formed of people who had been affected by the revivals in western Pennsylvania and Virginia and Kentucky. They disapproved of the existing churches because they had "human creeds," and declared for a union of all Christians on the basis of the Bible only. Their name represents their protest against denominationalism. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed by the secession from the Presbyterian Church of ministers and people living in Kentucky, on account of conditions produced by the revival.

The rise of the Unitarian body was in one sense a result of the revivals, for they brought to sharp issue certain theological differences which had

RESULTS OF
THE REVIVALS;
(1) CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP
INCREASED

(2) NEW
RELIGIOUS
BODIES

THE
UNITARIANS

long existed in eastern Massachusetts. Some Congregationalist ministers and people rejected the extreme teaching regarding the sinfulness of human nature commonly heard from the New England pulpits, and also denied the deity of Christ. Early in the century the lines were drawn between Unitarians and Trinitarians. About a hundred churches in and near Boston became Unitarian. The Universalist movement arose at this time in New England and elsewhere.

(3) HOME
MISSIONS

A strong home missionary advance followed from the revivals. Population was moving west very rapidly. The churches sent many preachers into the new settlements. Congregationalists and Presbyterians worked unitedly in the north, that is central and western New York and Ohio. Presbyterians were active in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Baptists and Methodists were the most effective evangelists of all, covering the whole frontier, but most influentially in the south and southwest.

(4) FOREIGN
MISSIONS

The foreign missions awakening in England¹ soon won response from the newly revived Christianity of America. Samuel Mills of Connecticut has the imperishable fame of being the pioneer of American Christianity in the field of world-wide missions. He was the leader of the five students of Williams College who are said to have considered at the Haystack Prayer Meeting the sending of the gospel abroad. He was the leader also of the Brethren, a society of volunteers for missions

¹ See p. 280.

to the heathen formed at Williams in 1808. The Brethren all went to Andover Theological Seminary, where Adoniram Judson joined them. Their application to the Congregational Association of Massachusetts for support and direction in their missionary purpose led to the formation in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This was at first composed of New England Congregationalists, but in 1812 it chose several Presbyterian members, and for many years it was the foreign missionary organization of both of these bodies.

THE AMERICAN
BOARD

In 1812 the American Board sent five missionaries to India. During the voyage Judson and Luther Rice adopted Baptist views, and these two separated from the others, Judson going to Burma to do his great work there, and Rice returning to America to give to the Baptists the vision of missions. His activity resulted in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1814. Within a few years other American churches enlisted, the Protestant Episcopal, the Dutch Reformed and the Methodist Episcopal.

Sunday schools after the model of Robert Raikes's,¹ for underprivileged children and for general as well as religious education, appeared in the United States before 1790. The revivals increased such work. The first Sunday school of the modern type, that is, a church school for religious training, seems to have been established in Pittsburgh in 1800. In the decade of the 1810's the new life of

SUNDAY
SCHOOLS

¹ See p. 279.

the churches caused the organization of many Sunday schools of this kind. From this time the Sunday school became recognized as an integral and necessary part of the life of the church. The strength of the movement showed in the formation of the American Sunday School Association in 1824.

EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS

The traditional interest of the American churches in education was increased by their stronger life and the educational needs of the West. The founding of colleges was an important part of the home missionary work of the churches, especially the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal. "Of the forty permanent colleges and universities established in the United States between the years 1780 and 1829, in all sections of the country, thirteen were established by Presbyterians, four by Congregationalists, one by Congregationalists and Presbyterians in coöperation, six by Episcopalians, one by Catholics, three by Baptists, one by the German Reformed, and eleven by the states," and of the state institutions four "were begun under Presbyterian influence."¹ Another educational result of the revivals was the establishment of schools for the training of the ministry, theological seminaries, to meet the demand for more and better prepared ministers. Andover Theological Seminary was founded in 1808 by the Massachusetts Congregationalists. During the next eighteen years fifteen other seminaries were established, representing eight denominations.

¹ W. W. Sweet: "Religion on the American Frontier, III: The Presbyterians," pp. 76, 77.

After the revival period in the fifteen years centering about 1800, the "Second Awakening," revivals were frequent in various parts of the country during the 1810's. They were more powerful during the next decade in New England and New York. In this time Charles G. Finney, one of the most influential of American preachers, began his work in central New York. Under his preaching the strongest movement of religious awakening yet seen arose in 1830-1831 in Rochester and spread in the whole North, from New England to Ohio. This had momentous consequences in moral advance, as will be seen.

FINNEY

c. 1830-1861

About 1830 began changes in the national life, affecting religious life in important ways. Between 1830 and 1860 immigration from Europe became large. Because of this and of movement from the East there was rapid development in the Mississippi Valley. New states were admitted, population increased, life was organized. The political power of the West rose from the presidency of Jackson. Industry grew fast and miles of railroads, canals and roads were built. The conflict over slavery became ever more intense, moving to crisis in the 1850's. Larger contacts with Europe brought new ideas, political, social, religious. Some new religious thinking was produced in America. Hence this period was one of ferment, change, controversy, "the restless thirties and forties."

CHANGES IN
NATIONAL
LIFE

The Protestant churches carried on in the West a vast home missionary work. Churches and Chris-

HOME
MISSIONS

tian colleges sprang up throughout the Mississippi Valley and regions farther west. The laying of Christian foundations for society in this enormous territory, with its immeasurable possibilities, in a few years, is one of the great achievements of Christian history. The churches caught the vision which Lyman Beecher put into words when in 1832 he left his position of foremost religious leadership in the East to be the head of the new Lane Seminary in Cincinnati. "To plant Christianity in the West is as great an undertaking as it was to plant it in the Roman Empire, with unspeakably greater permanence and power."

ROMAN
CATHOLIC AND
LUTHERAN
GROWTH

A direct religious result of the immigration was extraordinary growth of the Roman Catholic Church. In this period it multiplied tenfold, to more than three million people, and gained correspondingly in influence. The Lutheran churches increased largely in numbers through German and Scandinavian immigration.

CHURCH
CONTROVERSIES

Controversy troubled some of the churches in this unsettled time. It went to division in the Presbyterian Church. The working together of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in home missions had brought into the Presbyterian Church many Congregationalists of New England antecedents. Hence theological ideas at variance with older Presbyterian thought had spread considerably. Furthermore in the working together of the two bodies forms of organization departing from strict Presbyterian polity had developed. Two parties appeared, progressive and conservative, one hospitable

to new thinking and ready to adapt organization to new needs, the other holding to traditional patterns in doctrine and government. A break occurred in 1837. Two churches, New School and Old School, existed from 1838 to their reunion in 1869. In the Protestant Episcopal Church a controversy between the High-Church and Low-Church parties which had arisen in the 1810's was sharp in this period. Nevertheless this church made marked gains and advanced to be one of the principal American churches.

Slavery occupied a large part of the thought of the churches, as of the whole people. About 1800 the churches in both North and South were opposed to slavery, as was general opinion. Then an economic change wrought a transformation. The invention of the cotton gin shortly before 1800 enormously increased cotton growing, so that the South had a source of rising prosperity. Slavery, the means of producing cotton, gained general favor. The churches of the South no longer expressed opposition. In the North, where slavery did not exist, there was considerable anti-slavery sentiment among the churches, though feeling had not yet risen high. About 1830 came another change. The South became much more determined to keep and extend slavery and its churches committed themselves to the proposition that slavery was divinely sanctioned and authorized by the Bible. In the North opposition to slavery grew and the churches began to take the leadership in this movement, though they were not unanimous. The powerful revival of 1830-1831 under

THE CHURCHES
AND SLAVERY

Finney's preaching was directly connected with the strengthening of abolition opinion and purpose. From the 1840's the churches of the North were increasingly convinced of the evil of slavery and determined to secure its abolition. The Baptists and the Methodists divided, North and South, in 1844-1845, because of the anti-slavery convictions of their Northern parts. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 roused the Christian people of the North to even stronger opposition to slavery. The leadership of the churches supplied a decisive part of the anti-slavery purpose of the North.

TEMPERANCE

Drink was the other principal question of social morals which the churches took up. At the opening of the nineteenth century this evil was frightfully prevalent in all ranks of society. In the 1810's there was an awakening of Christian conscience. In the 1820's began a temperance movement which continued with increasing power for twenty years. This was distinctly a work of the churches, of ministers and church people. It was much stronger after the revival of 1830-1831. Its object was to break down social customs which practically compelled drinking and to secure individual abstinence, first from spirits, then from all alcoholic liquors. The outcome was that drinking was materially reduced, custom was regenerated, and most of the American churches took a definite stand on this question.

After more than ten years of high prosperity and intense activity in business, in 1857 came a financial

crash and general hard times. Soon signs of religious awakening appeared in meetings of laymen for prayer in New York City. Here began a revival which spread from Boston to Omaha and as far south as Washington. Everywhere it arose as in New York in meetings of laymen. It was a spontaneous movement without organization or notable evangelists, depending on prayers rather than on preaching, deep and fruitful. Hundreds of thousands were added to the churches. Christian laymen were impelled to religious service as never before. The churches were strengthened to meet the trials of the Civil War.

REVIVAL OF
1857-1858

D. 1861-1890

During the Civil War the churches of the North unanimously supported the cause of the Federal Government. To this they were influenced by a new motive, the preservation of the Union, in addition to the old motive of the abolition of slavery. On these grounds it was regarded as a war for objects in accordance with the will of God and therefore it was upheld religiously. The churches of the South were equally convinced of the righteousness of the Southern cause and gave it the same degree of support.

THE CHURCHES
AND THE WAR

The division of the nation caused only one church division, in the Old School Presbyterian Church, which had both Northern and Southern members. In 1861 the Southern portion of this church separated and formed the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, which after the war became the Presbyterian Church in the United States. In the Protestant Episcopal Church the

Southern dioceses fell out of communion with the Northern but there was no division.

After the war the nation in the North and West leaped forward with tremendous new power. The limitless resources of the country, the vast unused lands of the West, the urgent demands of the national life held up by the war, the hopefulness of the people combined to create an era of achievement and prosperity. The panic of 1873 did not change this general character of these times. The churches shared in the general activity. They abounded in the spirit of practical service. They had for resources the new energy and wealth of the people; they partook largely of their optimism. The Negroes of the South offered a new field in which the churches worked largely, establishing churches, schools and higher institutions. Home missions flourished more vigorously than ever in the West, which now meant the far West. The founding of colleges and theological seminaries went on apace. Foreign missions in the 1870's experienced a worldwide revival which fell in with the spirit and strength of the American churches. The reunion in 1869 of the New School and Old School Presbyterian Churches was a notable stimulus to religious activity. Revivals were frequent—D. L. Moody was at the height of his power as an evangelist—and the churches gained in numbers. Perhaps the most significant feature of all was the marked increase in the leadership and service of lay people. This appeared specially in the Sunday schools, where there came great enlargement of work and improvement

in methods. The Y. M. C. A., now organized all over the country, was very active. Women took a larger leadership through women's boards for missionary and other purposes. The youth movement arose with the first Y. P. S. C. E. in 1881 and in that decade developed very rapidly.

E. 1890-1929

Momentous changes in the national life, centering about 1890, vitally affected religious life and the churches. Moreover far-reaching changes came in religious thought. The changes in national life were: a large increase in immigration and a change in its source, from western Europe to eastern and southern; an industrial expansion far exceeding anything before known in America; a rapid growth of cities caused by immigration and industry, and a decline of rural population; the disappearance of the frontier, removing a resource which had existed throughout American history; more and sharper conflicts between workers and employees. New conditions in population had a direct effect on the churches. Many city churches, finding themselves surrounded by people to whom they were strange, moved to other locations. Some changed their methods to reach the people about them. Many village and country churches were seriously weakened by the movement of people to the cities. New methods of Biblical study gained ground, and a new conception of the inspiration of the Bible. Natural science through its accounts of the origin of the earth and of man altered religious thinking in many ways.

SOCIAL AND
RELIGIOUS
CHANGES

CHURCH
ACTIVITY

Despite these disturbing factors, the Protestant churches were highly active in the 1890's and the early twentieth century. Their membership increased, energetic evangelistic campaigns were frequent, the youth movement which had arisen in the 1880's was in full swing, missions at home and abroad went forward vigorously. The years 1900 to 1915 have been called "the age of the crusades," because of religious enterprises organized widely among the churches, such as the Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The First World War brought distraction from religious concerns. But the churches, on the whole strongly supporting the war, transferred to war causes much of their energy. Soon after the war came the greatest "crusade," the Inter-Church World Movement. Conceived on a vast scale, this sought adequate support for all Christian enterprises and the giving of Christian service wherever it was needed. It was unwisely planned and was overtaken by the disillusionment and prevailing selfishness of the 1920's. But through this discouraging period church activity continued on the same lines and with the same general strength until 1929.

CHRISTIAN
UNITY

Several new aspects of church life in this period call for notice. The Christian unity movement became far stronger in America, as in the whole Christian world. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, organized in 1908, brought most of the Protestant churches into coöperation and grew in influence. Many federations of churches in states, counties and cities strengthened

interdenominational work. Several unions of churches took place, the most important being the reunion of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1906 and the formation of the United Lutheran Church in 1918. The American churches were in the leadership of the movement of world Christianity.¹

From 1900 there was a steady growth of social Christianity, that is, of knowledge on the part of Christian people about social and economic conditions; of conscience concerning social evils; of conviction that social righteousness was of the will of God and that therefore the Christian Church should endeavor to fulfill his purpose. This appeared clearly in a long succession of declarations on social questions, "social creeds," issued by the churches, beginning with statements of the Methodist General Conference and the Federal Council in 1908. Along with them went a great deal of study and discussion in this field in the churches, and of publication of pamphlets, periodicals and books. Furthermore the service of the churches for social welfare was much enlarged. This movement was strengthened by the First World War. It affected the Roman Catholic Church as well as Protestantism. Despite opposition and with clearer realization of difficulties it continued to 1929.

SOCIAL
CHRISTIANITY

Worship became much more highly valued in many of the churches during this period. More devout and beautiful forms of worship were introduced on a large scale. In the non-liturgical

WORSHIP

¹ See pp. 333-335.

churches forms of prayer and books of orders of worship came into use. Another important aspect of the life of the churches was the large increase and improvement in religious education. This was carried into work on weekdays as well as Sundays.

The changes in religious thinking about 1890 which have been mentioned produced liberal theology, a type of thought which was true to historic Christianity but adopted a new conception of the inspiration of the Bible and new truths discovered by science. Against this there arose in the 1910's fundamentalism, a movement emphasizing the literal inspiration and accuracy of the Bible. A bitter controversy disturbed American Protestantism in the 1920's, but it had largely subsided by 1935.

In this period the Roman Catholic Church continued its advance. Its numerical increase was somewhat retarded from the 1910's by the restriction of immigration. But the church strengthened its organization and enlarged its activity in every way. Many buildings were erected for churches and institutions, educational work and social service were much increased, publication of periodicals and books was extensive, the political and social influence of the church was built up.

In this period the Eastern Orthodox Church for the first time became a considerable element in the religious life of the United States, because of immigration. The several churches of this communion hold an attitude toward the Protestant churches very different from that of the Roman Catholic Church.

RELIGIOUS
THOUGHT

ROMAN
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

F. 1929-1940

Looking back on the depression of 1929, one of the greatest economic catastrophes of history, we are sure that it marked a turning point in religious life. We are too near to understand this, and the fearful disasters in the world since then darken our vision.

Yet certain things are clear. The American churches suffered a decisive shrinking of financial resources which has somewhat limited their work.

The climate of religious thought has changed profoundly. There is much less confidence in man's power to make a better world, and far more reliance on God.

The Christian unity movement is definitely stronger. This is the answer of Christianity to the enmities dividing the world. Five important church unions have been achieved, the Congregational and Christian Churches in 1931, the American Lutheran Church in 1931, the Orthodox and Hicksite Friends in 1933, the Evangelical and German Reformed Churches in 1934, the Methodists, North and South, in 1939. The ecumenical movement has been a power in the United States.¹

The Christian spirit in the American churches has gone ahead on two other main lines. After 1929 the missionary enterprise was somewhat troubled in the United States, as elsewhere.² There was profound thought on the main questions of missions, affecting methods. Missionary forces have been somewhat re-

¹ See pp. 333-335.

² See pp. 332, 333.

duced for lack of money, and fields have been considerably limited by wars. But no backward step appears in the missionary purpose of the churches. Neither is there any backward step in regard to something closely connected, the relation of Christianity to society. There is indeed less trust in what man can do, and more sense of man's utter need of God. There is clearer sight of the evil of the world. But even in times of tragedy and ruin, the churches hold their purpose of striving for the realization of the righteous will of God in human life.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the foundations of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay.
2. Describe the religious life of early New England.
3. What was the attitude of the Puritans toward religious liberty? How was this connected with the foundation of Rhode Island and the early history of the Baptists?
4. What was the religious condition of New York in the seventeenth century?
5. Describe the religious beginnings of Pennsylvania.
6. Describe toleration in Maryland.
7. Describe religious conditions in Virginia in the seventeenth century.
8. Describe the Great Awakening and its results.
9. Where did the Scotch-Irish settle? What was their church connection?
10. Describe the rise of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches.
11. Describe Methodism in the colonies.
12. What was provided by the Federal Constitution regarding religion?
13. Describe the state of religion after the War of Independence and the revivals that changed conditions.

14. What new religious bodies resulted from the revivals?
15. What were the results of the revivals in home missions and foreign missions?
16. Describe the rise of Sunday schools.
17. What were the results of the revivals in education?
18. What was the general character of the period 1830-1861?
19. Describe home missions in this time.
20. What was the attitude of the churches toward slavery?
21. Describe their action regarding drink.
22. What were the religious results of immigration in 1830-1861?
23. Describe the revival of 1857-1858.
24. What was the character of church life in the years after the Civil War?
25. What changes in national life and church life came about 1890?
26. Describe progress in Christian unity, 1890-1929.
27. Describe social Christianity in this period.
28. Describe the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in this period.
29. Why is 1929 a turning point?

READING

Sweet: "Story of Religion in America," 1939 ed.

Rowe: "Story of Religion in the United States."

A. H. Newman: "History of the Baptist Churches in the United States."

W. Walker: "History of the Congregational Churches in the United States."

Garrison: "Religion Follows the Frontier," on the Disciples.

Manross: "History of the American Episcopal Church."

Wentz: "The Lutheran Church in American History."

Sweet: "Methodism in American History."

R. E. Thompson: "History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States."

O'Gorman: "History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States."

Mode: "The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity."

H. R. Niebuhr: "The Kingdom of God in America."

Garrison: "The March of Faith," on 1865-1932.

Atkins: "Religion in Our Times," on 1890-1932.

Gabriel, ed.: "Pageant of American Life," Vol. 10, "Idealism," for illustrations of American religious history.

Bassett: "Short History of the United States, 1492-1938."

INDEX

- Absolution, 130
Adrianople, battle, 45
Albigenses, 121, 133, 164-165
American Board, 357
Anabaptists, 229-232
Andover Seminary, 358
Angles, 46
Anglican Reformation, 222-229
Anglo-Catholicism, 303-304, 327-328
Ansgar, 74
Antioch, 19, 62, 82
Apostles, 25
Apostles' Creed, 24, 39, 40
Apostolic succession, 62-63, 272, 301
Arabs, 67-68, 81-82, 99
Archbishops, 80, 125
Arius, 55
Armenian Church, 65
Art and Church, 60, 94, 137-138
Asbury, 352
Asceticism, 37, 53
Athanasius, 55
Augsburg, Confession, 194-195; Peace, 197
Augustine, missionary, 71-72
Augustine, theologian, 57-59, 62-63
Austria, 324-325
Avignon, 167-168
Babylonish Captivity, 167-168
Baptism, 38, 230
Baptists, 232, 267, 270, 304, 328; in U. S., 343-344, 350-351, 356, 357
Barbarians, migrations, 45-46
Bartholomew, St., massacre, 212
Basel, council, 174
Beecher, L., 360
Benedictine Rule, 54, 76
Bernard, 126-127, 141-144
Bible, 40, 57, 155, 170, 195-196, 223-224, 227-228
Bishops, 26, 40, 42, 62-63, 125, 272-273, 301
Bohemia, 75, 171-172
Bohemian Brethren, 172, 258
Boniface, missionary, 73-74
Boniface VIII, 166-167
Brainerd, D., 351
Brethren, 165-166
Broad Church movement, England, 298-299
Bunyan, J., 270
California, missions, 339
Calvin, 205-211
Calvinism, 211-220
Canada, missions, 244, 339-340
Canon law, 131-132, 318-319
Canossa, 106
Canterbury, 72
Cardinals, 104
Carey, W., 280
Cathari, 132, 164

- Catherine de Medici, 212
 Catherine of Siena, 168
 Catholic Church, 40-41, 61-64
 Celibacy, clerical, 41, 96,
 108-109
 Chalcedon, council, 56
 Chalmers, 305, 306
 Charlemagne, 68-70
 Charles I, 227-229, 266-268
 Charles II, 269-271
 Charles V, 180-182, 189-190,
 194-195, 197, 213
 Charles Martel, 68
 China, missions, 149, 156,
 243-244
 Christian, name, 19
 Cistercians, 126-127, 142
 Clovis, 51-52
 Cluny, 95, 126
 Coligny, 212
 Columba, 51
 Common Prayer, Book of,
 224, 225, 269, 327-328
 Commonwealth government,
 268-269
 Concordat, French, 287, 316
 Congregationalism, 26, 226,
 267, 342
 Congregationalists, 226, 267,
 270, 304, 328; in U. S.,
 342, 351, 352, 355-358, 360
 Connecticut, colony, 342
 Constance, council, 171-174
 Constantine, 36, 45, 47-48
 Constantinople, 45, 154, 182
 Constitution of U. S., 354
 Coptic Church, 65
 Counter-Reformation, 232-
 240
 Courts of church, 131-132
 Covenant, Scottish, 228, 266
 Covenanters, 281-282
 Cranmer, 225
 Cromwell, 267-268
 Crusades, 115-121
 Cumberland Presbyterian
 Church, 355, 367
 Czechoslovakia, 324
 Danish-Halle mission, 257
 Deacons, 26, 39-40
 Decius, 35
 Decretals, false, 80-81
 Denmark, 198, 296, 324
 Diet, German, 181, 189, 194
 Diocese, 42, 125
 Diocletian, 29-30, 35
 Disciples, 355
 Dispersion, Jewish, 9
 Dissenters, medieval, 163-
 166; English, 226, 270,
 272-273
 Dominic, 144
 Dominicans, 144-145, 149
 Donatists, 58-59
 Dort, Synod, 216
 Dutch Reformed Church, 215,
 344
 Eastern Church, 82-83, 98-
 100, 154-156, 261-264, 329-
 331, 368
 Ecumenical movement, 334-
 335, 369
 Edward VI, 224
 Edwards, J., 350
 Eighteenth century revival,
 England, 274-280
 Ejectment, Great, 270
 Elders, 26, 208
 England, Church of, 223-
 229, 266-273, 277-280, 296-
 304, 326-328; in U. S.,
 345, 347-348, 353

- England, missions, 71-73
 Enlightenment, 259-261
 Episcopacy, 40, 42-43, 104-105, 125, 225, 227-229, 301
 Erasmus, 177, 201
 Eucharist, 38, 60, 93, 134-135, 155
 Evangelicals, English, 277-278, 326
 Excommunication, 131
- Farel, 206-207
 Fascism, 313-314
 Federal Council of Churches, 366
 Florida, 338
 Formula of Concord, 253-254
 Fox, G., 268, 348
 France, Protestantism, 249-251, 294-295, 322-323
 France, Reformation, 211-213
 France, Roman Catholic Church, 247-253, 316-317
 Francis I, 181-182, 211
 Francis of Assisi, 145-149
 Franciscans, 149-150
 Francke, 257
 Franks, 46, 51-52, 68-69
 Free Church of Scotland, 305-308
 Free Churches, England, 272-273, 279, 304-305, 328-329
 Free Churches, other countries, 295-296, 322-324
 French Revolution, 251-253
 Friends, 268, 304, 328; in U. S., 345-346, 348, 369
 Fundamentalism, 368
- Gallicanism, 247-248
 Geneva, 206-210
 Georgia, 274-275, 348-349
- German Empire, 69-70, 180-181, 294, 312
 German Evangelical Church, 294, 321
 German Reformed Church, 219; in U. S., 346, 369
 Germany, modern, 312-313, 315-316
 Germany, Protestantism, 253-257, 293-294, 321-322
 Germany, Reformation, 180-197, 218-219
 Gnosticism, 24, 39, 41
 Gothic architecture, 138
 Greeks, 4-6
 Gregory I, 77-79
 Gregory VII, 103-112
 Gustavus Adolphus, 241
- Harvard College, 343
 Heidelberg Catechism, 219
 Henry IV, 105-107
 Henry VIII, 222-224
 Heresy, 132-134
 High Church party, England, 272-273, 299
 Hildebrand, 103-112
 Hitler, 313
 Holland, 215-216, 295, 323
 Holy Roman Empire, 70, 114
 Home missions, American, 356, 359-360, 364
 Huguenots, 212, 249-251; in U. S., 338, 348
 Humanists, 176-177, 220
 Hungary, Protestantism, 296, 325; Reformation, 219
 Hus, 171-172
 Hymns, 22, 38, 60, 196, 278
- Illumination, 259-261
 Image worship controversy, 100

- Immaculate Conception, 288-289
 Independents, 226
 Index of Prohibited Books, 238-239
 India, missions, 50, 156, 243, 257, 280
 Indulgences, 130, 186
 Innocent III, 112-113, 133, 146
 Inquisition, 132-133, 238-239
 Iona, 51
 Ireland, 50-51, 283-284
 Islam, see Mohammedanism
 Italy, 290-291, 313-314

 Jacobite Church, 65
 James I, 227-228
 James II, 271
 Japan, missions, 243
 Jerome, 56-57
 Jesuits, 212, 234-237, 243-244
 Jesus, 15-17
 Jews, 6-9
 John, King, 113
 John of Damascus, 99
 Judaizers, 24
 Judson, 357
 Julian, 49
 Justin, 31
 Justinian, 46

 Kentucky, 354, 355, 356
 Knox, 210, 216-218
 Kultur-kampf, 291-292

 Latimer, 225
 Laud, 227
 Law of church, see Canon law
 Lay investiture, 104-108
 Lay patronage, 283, 305-307
 Leo I, 64
 Leo IX, 97
 Leo X, 187-189
 Leo XIII, 289, 292-293
 Leyden, 215
 Liberal movement, England, 298-299, 326-327
 Liberty, religious, 210, 242, 272, 343-344, 346, 347
 Lindisfarne, 72
 Liturgies, 38, 135, 155
 Lollards, 170
 Lombards, 67
 Long Parliament, 229, 266-267
 Lord's Supper, 23, 34, 38, 93
 Lothaire, 79
 Louis XIV, 247-249
 Love-feast, 23
 Loyola, 235-236
 Luther, 182-198
 Lutheranism, 191-198, 253-255, 293-294, 296, 322, 324; U. S., 352, 360, 367, 369

 Magna Charta, 113
 Mariolatry, 61, 92, 136-137
 Martin of Tours, 48
 Mary, Queen of England, 224-225
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 217-218
 Mass, 93, 134-135
 Melancthon, 188-189, 195
 Melville, A., 218
 Menno Simons, 231-232
 Mennonites, 232, 346
 Messianic hope, 7-8
 Methodism, England, 278-279, 304, 328; U. S., 352, 355, 356, 362, 369
 Methodists, 274-276

- Metropolitans, 62, 80
 Mills, S., 356
 Missions, ancient church, 18-20, 31-33, 48, 50-51
 Missions, medieval, 71-76, 148-149
 Missions, modern movement, 280
 Missions, Protestant, 242, 257, 258-259, 280, 308-310, 331-333, 369-370
 Missions, Roman Catholic, 242-244, 310, 333
 Missions, U. S., 356-357, 364, 369-370
 Mithraism, 10
 Modernism, 314-315, 319-320
 Mohammedanism, 67-68, 81-82, 99, 115, 117
 Monasticism, 51, 52-54, 72, 95-97, 123, 126-129, 156, 161
 Monophysites, 65
 Moravia, missions, 75
 Moravians, 258-259
 Moslem conquests, 67-68
 Mussolini, 313
 Mysteries, 10-11

 Nantes, edict, 213, 250
 Napoleon I, 287, 294
 Nero, 33
 Nestorians, 64-65, 156-157
 Nestorius, 56, 64-65
 Netherlands, 240
 Netherlands, Reformation, 213-216
 New England, 340-344, 349-350
 New Jersey, colony, 345-346, 350
 New Testament, 22, 40
 New York, colony, 344-345
 Newman, 300, 302
 Nicene council and creed, 55-56
 Nicholas I, 79, 81
 Nikon, 263
 Ninety-five Theses, 186-187
 Nonconformists, England, 226, 270, 272-273, 278, 279; see Free Churches
 Norman architecture, 138
 Normans, 67
 Norway, 198, 296, 324

 Oglethorpe, 274, 348-349
 Ohio, 356, 359
 Old Testament, 8, 22
 Origen, 32
 Orthodoxy, 56, 254-255, 256
 Otto I, 70, 89
 Oxford movement, 299-304


 Papacy, ancient church, 42-43, 63-64; medieval, 77-82, 103-114, 124-125, 167-169; Reformation, 187-191, 222-223; modern, 247-248, 287-293, 314-320
 Papal States, 79-80, 123, 287, 290-291, 317-318
 Patriarchs, 62
 Patrick, 50-51
 Paul, 19, 24, 26
 Peasants' War, 193
 Pelagius, 59
 Penance, 130
 Penn, W., 345-346
 Pennsylvania, 346, 351-352, 355, 356
 Pentecost, 17-18
 Persecution, 18-19, 33-36, 132-134, 211-214, 224-225,

- 231, 238, 240, 249-251, 270,
281-282, 343-344, 348
- Peter, 17, 63
- Peter the Great, 263-264
- Peter the Hermit, 119
- Peter's Pence, 124
- Petrobrusians, 163-164
- Pharisees, 11
- Pietism, 255-258
- Pilgrims, 340-341
- Pisa, council, 173
- Pius VII, 287
- Pius IX, 288-292
- Pius X, 315, 316
- Pius XI, 315, 317, 320
- Pliny, 12
- Poland, 75, 314, 319, 325,
331
- Presbyterian government,
211, 217-218, 226, 228,
281-282
- Presbyterianism, England,
266-267, 270, 304, 328;
France, 211; Holland,
215; Ireland, 283-284;
Scotland, 217-218, 282,
308-309, 329
- Presbyterian Churches,
American, 342, 351, 352,
353, 354, 356, 357, 358,
360-361, 363
- Presbyters, 26, 39-40
- Priests, medieval parish, 125-
126
- Printing press, 175
- Protestant Episcopal Church,
353, 357, 358, 361, 363
- Protestant, name, 194
- Purgatory, 130
- Puritans, England, 226-228,
266-271; America, 340-
343, 347-348
- Raikes, 279
- Reform Bill, 300
- Reformed Churches, 200-220,
294-296, 323-325; see Pres-
byterianism
- Relics, 61, 92-93, 136
- Renaissance, 175-177
- Restoration, England, 269-
271; Scotland, 281
- Revival of learning, 176-177
- Revolution of 1689, 271-272,
282
- Rhode Island, 343-344
- Roman Catholic Church,
Counter-Reformation, 232-
240; England, 224-225;
France, 247-249, 251-253,
287, 316-317; Germany,
291-292, 315-316; general,
232-240, 242-244, 287-293,
314-315, 318-320; U. S.,
347, 360, 367
- Roman Empire, 1-4, 28-30,
45-47
- Russia, 262-263, 312
- Russia, Christianization, 75
- Russia, Protestantism, 325-
326
- Russian Church, 75, 155-156,
262-264, 329-330
- Sacraments, 23, 38, 60, 93,
134-135, 204-205
- Sadducees, 11
- Saint worship, 60-61, 91-93,
135-136
- Saxons, 46, 69
- Schism, papal, 168-169
- Scotch-Irish, America, 347-
348, 351
- Scotland, Church of, 217-218,
228, 281-283, 305-308, 329

- Scotland, Free Church, 305-308
 Scotland, United Free Church, 308, 329
 Scotland, United Presbyterian Church, 307-308
 Scottish monks, 51, 72
 Second Awakening, U. S., 354-355
 Serbia, 314, 331
 Sigismund, 174
 Simony, 88-89, 96
 Slave trade, 279
 Slavery, 20, 154
 Slavery and American churches, 361-362
 Social Christianity, 299, 326, 327, 367, 370
 Social service, Christian, 36-37, 49, 76, 128, 154, 279-280, 298-299; see Social Christianity
 Solemn League and Covenant, 266-267
 Spain, 115, 180, 213-214, 240, 317
 Spanish Armada, 240
 Spanish missions, America, 338-339
 Spener, 255-256
 Speyer, Diet, 194, 204
 Stalin, 312
 Stephen, 18
 Sunday schools, 279, 357-358
 Sweden, 198, 296, 324
 Switzerland, Reformation, 201-210; Protestantism, 295-296, 323-324
 Syllabus of Errors, 289
 Teachers, 25, 32
 Temporal power of papacy, 79-80, 123, 287, 290-291, 317-318
 Tennent, G., 257, 350
 Tennessee, 354, 356
 Tertullian, 32
 Tetzl, 186
 Theological seminaries, U. S., 358
 Theodore of Tarsus, 73
 Theodosius, 45, 49-50
 Thirty Years' War, 240-241
 Thirty-nine Articles, 225
 Toleration Act, England, 272
 Tours, battle, 68
 Tractarian movement, 299-304
 Transubstantiation, 135
 Trent, council, 237-238
 Turks, 117-119, 261-263, 331
 Tyndale, 224
 Ulfilas, 48
 Ulster, 284
 Ultramontanism, 248
 Uniates, 263
 Unitarians, 356
 Unity, Christian, 333-335, 369
 Universalists, 356
 Urban II, 118
 Vatican Council, 289-290
 Victor Emmanuel, 291
 Virginia, 347-348
 Visigoths, 45-46
 Vladimir, 75
 Vulgate, 57
 Waldenses, 132, 165
 War of Independence, U. S., 352-353
 Wesley, Charles, 276

- Wesley, John, 274-276, 277
Westminster Assembly, 266-267
Westphalia, Peace, 241-242
Whitefield, 276-277, 350
Wilberforce, 277, 279-280
William and Mary, 271
William of Orange, 213-215
Williams, Roger, 343-344
Wittenberg, 184-186
Worms, Diet, 189-191
Wyclif, 169-171
Xavier, Francis, 243
Y. M. C. A., 365
Youth movement, U. S., 365
Yugoslavia, 314, 331
Zinzendorf, 258, 351-352
Zwingli, 201-205
Zwinglian Reformation, 193-194, 203-205

Date Due

FACULTY	1978		
FEB 1 1978	1978		
FACULTY	DEC 31 1978		
FACULTY	JAN 31 1980		
FACULTY	DEC 31 1983		
FACULTY	JUN 1 1992		
MAY 1 1980	JUN 1 1994		
DEC 7 1982			
JAN 1 1983			
FEB 1 1983			
MAR 3 1985			
JUN 3 1985			
JUN 1 1984			
FEB 2 1985			
MAY 2 1985			
OCT 1 1985			
NOV 1 1985			
MAR 31 1985			
	PRINTED	IN U. S. A.	

2

BW901 .N62 1941

The growth of the Christian church

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00015 6911